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# MANKIND AND THE CHURCH

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# MANKIND AND THE CHURCH

BEING

AN ATTEMPT TO ESTIMATE
THE CONTRIBUTION OF GREAT RACES TO THE
FULNESS OF THE CHURCH OF GOD

BY

SEVEN BISHOPS

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY THE

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THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS

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# CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION: THE CHURCH OF THE FAR WEST

The Right Rev. H. H. Montgomery, D.D., sometime Bishop of Tasmania.

Chapter I. The Race . . . . . xi
„ II. The Church of the Race . . . . . xxi
„ III. Effects already attained by the Church —Dreams of the Future . . . . xxxvii

I

THE PAPUANS, A PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC

The Right Rev. M. J. Stone-Wigg, D.D., Bishop of New Guinea.

Chapter I. The Village Community in Papua . . . 8
„ II. Characteristics of the Papuan . . . . 22
„ III. The Future of the Papuan . . . . . 51

II

THE SPECIAL INFLUENCE WHICH THE AFRICAN OR NEGRO RACE MAY EXERCISE ON THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS OF CHRISTIANITY

The Most Rev. E. Nuttall, D.D., Archbishop of the West Indies.

Chapter I. The Negro Race . . . . . 72
„ II. Characteristics of the Negro . . . . 89
„ III. Negro Christianity . . . . . 115
Appendices . . . . . 126

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## III

## THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CHURCH OF JAPAN TO THE BODY OF CHRIST

The Right Rev. W. Awdry, D.D., Bishop of South Tokyo.

PAGE

Chapter I. The Japanese People and their Environment . . . . . 138

,, II. Japanese History and Religions . . . 162

,, III. Missions to Japan . . . . . 192

,, IV. Missions of the Anglican Communion . 208

,, V. Contribution of the Japanese. . . . . 227

## IV

## THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CHURCH OF CHINA TO THE BODY OF CHRIST

The Right Rev. J. C. Hoare, D.D., late Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong.

Chapter I. Characteristics of the Chinese . . . . 239

,, II. Chinese Christianity . . . . . 252

,, III. China's Contribution . . . . . 272

## V

## MOHAMMEDAN RACES: THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE BODY OF CHRIST

The Right Rev. G. A. Lefroy, D.D., Bishop of Lahore.

Chapter I. Islam: Its Merits and Failures. . . . 281

,, II. Suggestions for Work among Moslems . 301

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## VI

## "THE HIDDEN RICHES OF SECRET PLACES": THE POSSIBLE SERVICE OF HINDUISM TO THE COLLECTIVE THOUGHT OF THE CHURCH

The Right Rev. L. G. Mylne, D.D., formerly Bishop of Bombay.


| | | PAGE |
|---|---|---|
| Chapter I. | General Contrast between Christianity and Hinduism as Systems . . . . . | 309 |
| „ II. | A more Detailed Account of Hinduism . | 322 |
| „ III. | Summary Statement of the Relation of Christianity to Pantheism . . . . . | 336 |
| „ IV. | Detailed Statement of the Relations of Christianity with Pantheism . . . . | 357 |
| „ V. | The Service to be Rendered to Christian Thought by the Belief in the Mutual Immanence of Creator and Creature . | 386 |


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# INTRODUCTION

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# INTRODUCTION

## CHAPTER I

### The Race

**Object of the writers—Body of Christ incomplete—Search for its completion—Merits and demerits of our own race—Duality of character—Imaginative, unimaginative—Shyness—Lack of vision—Manners—Order of virtues and vices.**

The Seven Bishops responsible for this book may by some be styled "the Seven Dreamers." Be it so: there is a place for dreams in the life of the Church which fixes its eyes on a horizon as yet hidden. The writers have contributed their quota in order to press, especially upon Churchmen, the needs and limitations of their race, and to prove to those who need such proof that they are part only of the Body of Christ, indicating at the same time the sources from which we may receive the limbs which will one day complete that Body. We may hope ere long, as the deeper view grows, to find the cause of world-wide mission work characterized as a peculiarly concentrated form of spiritual selfishness, an attempt, that is, to obtain for ourselves what we possess now in scanty measure. The criticism would, at least, be a welcome change from the more usual attitude which represents our race as a Lord Bountiful sparing something of his superfluity for the needy at the gate. The view indeed which we thankfully recognize is steadily

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gaining ground does not tend to self-satisfaction. We find the Church of God to-day strongly established in temperate regions, but weak, or almost non-existent, in many parts of the tropics. Consequently it is more a torso than a body with limbs. Some of us therefore are prepared to believe that the achievements of the Faith at present are as the crawling of a body lacking hands or feet or arms, compared with the leaping and running and working in days to come.

The lame man at the Temple-gate asking alms is humanity imploring the Apostles of the Lord for a boon. The Church to-day does not offer civilization, good as that may be, but a place in the Body of Christ, and with it a new motive and force.

To change the figure; we stand to-day perplexed and anxious before a door, behind which are hoarded treasures more beautiful and costly than any we have yet beheld. A key is in our hands: it turns in the lock, but without result. The reason is simple, the wards of the key are not all fashioned yet: they are the races of the world, and until they are in place the key is useless.

It will be seen, then, that we are repeating the truth that God having scattered over the world the gifts and graces of humanity, the Church is engaged in gathering them up into one organism: each race is called to bring its own contribution and occupy the place reserved from the beginning for it which no one else can fill.

It is no easy subject which we have determined to discuss, for it is as hard to gauge accurately the merits and demerits of one's own race as it is to judge fairly of the qualities of other nations, yet we must do both. We hope we have made it plain at all events that all the world over our leaders in the Church are respectful to other races and religions, desiring to destroy nothing but what is false, eager to recognize what is true, ready to

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learn, generous with praise, and prepared to welcome as brethren all nations of men. The day of contempt, indeed, for races and religions has passed, and we have come to see that a Christian must first of all be a courteous gentleman if he is to exhibit the Spirit of the Shepherd whose epithet is ὁ καλός. In building the Highway of God through every land it is first necessary to cut down the Bush; but the "felling gang" of the Lord makes full use of the trees so cut down to make the "conduroy track" to be pressed by those Blessed Feet. It is a parable.

I must now attempt to sketch in outline the merits and demerits of our own race.

In temperate-clime races there is, I think, a more marked duality of character than in those which live nearer the equator.

Dr. Inge in his "Bampton Lectures" waxes indignant over the figure of John Bull as an unworthy and misleading caricature of an Englishman, pointing out that no race has produced more beautiful types of the mystical order. The criticism is valuable because it calls attention to a dual character. I note the same fact in the case of a race even stiffer in its characteristics than our own—the Dutch. After a week among the masterpieces of Dutch painters one longs for a little Italian art: yet the Dutch have given us the greatest of all mystical writers in the continent of Europe, and the appearance of Thomas à Kempis in Holland reminds us of the riddle, "Out of the strong came forth sweetness." At the same time "John Bull" is no mere caricature. Seen at his very best, and yet from the point of view of the caricaturist, we get Dr. Johnson.

This idealized figure in the abstract could only be the creature of a cold climate, unthinkable along the equator, full of rough force, recognized by all races as possessed

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of unique will power, so much so that he does not in the least object to stand alone in his opinions.

It is almost possible to prophesy that if you told him he was by himself in holding a certain view of things he would answer that this fact was an overpowering argument in his favour. He exalts common sense and practical sagacity above all other virtues, with an honest contempt for idealists, theorists, and dreamers; waxing impatient if you expect from him any detailed and far-reaching scheme providing for the possibilities of a long roll of years. He hardly comprehends your motive for asking him for any such thing, since in his opinion nothing is needful, except to do the work of each day just as it comes, and with the eyes in his head, without any desire for the use of a telescope or a microscope. He is a devout man of the unimaginative type and a family man, with a suspicion of ascetics and celibates. He believes naturally in the Ten Commandments, but has serious difficulty with the Beatitudes, and, indeed, some of them puzzle him. Very independent, he makes a first-rate pioneer, and being unromantic he can take root anywhere, making a new home in any land. In regard to his desire for corporate action the dual character peeps out at once. From one point of view he seems to look at life as though all he met were as travellers in a railway carriage, kind and helpful whilst in company and all bound the same way, but not anxious to inquire for each other's names, and in due time separating without a pang. But again I remember the saying that if three Englishmen were to meet upon a desert island two of them would propose and second that the third do take the chair.

Poetry does not appeal to him, except in the form of simple hymns. Jokes he delights in, and is not perturbed by personalities or sarcastic allusions or criticisms. On

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the other hand I do not think there can be a doubt that meditation is an uncongenial occupation for him, and he would rather fill his days with what he calls practical work, hardly believing that he can have done his duty to God unless he has been in a hurry all day long and desperately tired at night. "Time is money."

But note again that he is one of the shyest of men in regard to his deepest sentiments, and would go to the verge of deceit in order to hide his real feelings, being always in dread of being accused of hypocrisy. Hardly anything would induce him to pray in a public place except at the regular stated times with others in a church. His behaviour when he is angry is strange; he becomes rather white in the face and very quiet, and few races are wise enough to read such symptoms aright until it is too late.

But our tenderest sympathy for him must be felt in regard to his lack of vision. I do not believe he sees God easily. Partly it must be the effect of climate, for there really seems to be truth in the statement that the nearer you live to the equator the easier it is to see God, and the further you live away from it the harder it becomes. So he, in common with other cold-climate races, though he has a strong sense of duty, has little vision of God. His Creator knows that it is hard for him not to be an agnostic.

Dr. Salmon in one of his published sermons tells how Professor Huxley once asked a scientific friend—for whose ability he had a profound respect, and who was at the same time a most devout Christian—how he could so earnestly believe in what seemed to him incredible. His friend answered that if he might give his real opinion without offence, it was that the Professor was colour-blind. Huxley was much struck by the remark. Certainly the Englishman has great difficulty in seeing certain colours.

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But his defect has compensating advantages, inasmuch as when, by a kind of divine surgical operation, he gains his spiritual vision, no man is more fervent in his desire to bring his conduct into close line with his beliefs. There is an intimate and a necessary connection for him between faith and works.

I fear he has been accused of bad manners. I believe it is really due to his lack of vision. When he enters a crowded public room, for example, he sees no one; being shy, reserved, and not very alert, he is misunderstood, for be it remembered there is no one who, while valuing his own freedom, is so bent upon encouraging all others to follow their own bent, even those whom he has been called to rule.

I can imagine a member of an equatorial race reading with amazement such a characterization of an Englishman. Surely to him it might be the description of an inhabitant of the planet Mars with whom he certainly does not desire to cultivate a closer intimacy. He would be still more amazed were he informed that this race had produced the greatest of all poets, the most famous mathematician, the greatest man of science, probably the most noted philosopher of modern times, and the noblest painter of nature in its deepest and most subtle aspects. And if he began to study the poet he would acknowledge that he could only be an Englishman, combining in one mind, to his renewed astonishment, the *rôle* of Sophocles and Aristophanes with equal facility. He would find our mystics entirely to his most fastidious taste, and he would feel in thinkers such as Bishop Westcott and in Dean Church the note in theology which would be wholly satisfying.

Even this brief survey of the qualities of our race makes it possible to say that the world must not expect to acquire much alluvial gold from the English mine.

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It is a reef deep down below the surface and covered over with a very hard cap of rock which requires the drill and much dynamite; but the gold reef when reached is rich and lives down. The removal of the hard cap is the miracle that the Gospel has effected, till at length the man who was colour-blind, who used to hold in dim fashion that our Blessed Lord must have been born in London for the express benefit of his own race alone, has become one of the greatest of missionaries. The day was when he declared that it was almost ludicrous to suppose you could convert a Chinese or an Indian, and when in consequence, with kindly eyes, we had to say to him, "If God Almighty has converted you, do you really suppose there can be real difficulty with any other race?" To-day he is earnest in impressing upon all men the Faith of the Gospel, and it is not easy to speak too highly of the beauty of character of the English gentleman and the English lady. It is indeed one of the marvels of history that our race has become an apostle and herald of the Faith. We do not lack fibre, but more than any other, we need a broken heart, and that fracture was effected by the power of the Gospel. Just so far as it has been broken and thus has entered into the meaning of the first Beatitude (did our Lord turn westward when He uttered it?) it has its own message to give other nations regarding miracles of grace and the virtues which are specially entrusted to it to put forward as of first importance for man.

And here I touch upon a most engrossing subject. The virtues to be upheld, the vices to be reprobated, are placed in different order for the different races of mankind. No one order can stand without being supplemented by other lists. No one can doubt, I think, that the order is different for men and for women. Some sins are worse in men, others in women. Some graces we expect to be



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prominently set forth by men, others by women, and he who has not mastered this can hardly be a wise councillor in the deep things of life. Every profession, again, has its own list of virtues to be extolled and sins to be banned and in its own order. Whoever in his own profession offends against the virtue that holds first place for him, knows that he will suffer sentence of banishment. An equally great profession but of a different type and with a different first purpose in life, may have placed a different sin in the one unpardonable place. The same train of thought will carry us through the races of the world. Some sins are worse in an Englishman than they are in a native of India or Africa. History, climate, essential characteristics, make the difference. In one case the sin is at the top of the list, in the other it is not. And this it is which gives each race its own message to its neighbours. Some day in the perfected Church the virtues will be ordered in an equal line, and the vices will be equally reprobated; but since that day has not yet dawned, we pass from land to land watching with discriminating and kindly eyes, first, the lesson to be learnt by ourselves, and then offering respectfully our own strength where they ethically are weak.

Pages, of course, could be filled with examples of the differences between race and race. A few such must suffice, but it is to be hoped that ere long our keenest minds will draw up a catalogue of actions natural to our race, but offensive to peoples quite differently constituted, in order that race prejudices may be composed.

Side by side with the shyness of the Englishman place the natural openness of the Oriental in all things pertaining to his deeper feelings. The former views with wonder and admiration the Mohammedan in India who prays by the roadside, or on the front part of his shop, oblivious of passers-by. To him it is a miracle of grace: in reality it

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is nothing but a racial difference. It is incredible to the Oriental that any one can have a belief unless he openly exhibits it by such actions, and the white man who veils his feelings possesses in his eyes in consequence no faith whatever in God. To the reticent Englishman it would be hypocrisy to behave as another does for whom reticence in such matters is no virtue.

Again, an uninstructed member of our race is soon angry at the lapses from truthfulness common among some tropical races. Experience will teach him that veracity does not hold the place there that it does in our own catalogue, more especially among a people that may for centuries have been a subject-race. Another characteristic cause for wrath in us is the apparent indifference to the value of time with the Oriental. Punctuality holds a high place on our list: it does not appear at all in the catalogue of desirable things among many nations for whom time has no value at all, who are never hurried, and who hold with charming completeness of conviction that if time is money so much the worse for money.

On the other hand all the delicate perceptions and intentions which result in good manners hold first place for the Oriental. Probably every one of the three hundred million people of India has perfect manners, and could preside at a Court function with all the grace that comes in our race only with generations of refinement. To such people the lack of perception of the delicacies of behaviour are little short of maddening. In time they on their side realize that in the home of Boreas races have other very pressing matters to attend to before manners.

But it is in regard to vision that races, tropical and of temperate climes, differ most completely. Near the equator One only is visible—God: that is, the unseen;

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and its effect upon life is so direct as to make this conviction the only Reality. We can imagine a conversation couched in some terms as these between representatives of the opposing temperaments. "There is no miracle: There is naught but miracle." "There is no God: God alone is." "I cannot see Him: I can see no other." "The real is what I see with bodily eyes and touch with these hands: The real is what is hidden from these eyes, and out of reach of these hands." Equally strange it is to the practical Englishman to discover in such regions the existence of an attitude of mind to him impossible if not unthinkable, namely, that they, for whom belief in the unseen is intuitive, do not see any necessary connection between such belief and their own conduct. Faith can exist quite happily, with no twinge of conscience, without works. Bishop Mylne in his article explains the paradox. Here, at least, the Englishman, not necessarily Christian, believes that he has a contribution to offer to what we may term tropical ethics. The Christian Englishman is glad to remember that though Luther, who clearly had no acquaintance with the East, applied to the Epistle of St. James a disrespectful epithet, he himself knows that it is exactly the message most needed in many regions of the earth. The members of the Church of the Far West have their limitations, but they have their own message to impart, and their special place in the Church Catholic. This particular Church has its roots already in every part of the world; and if the English language is to become one of the most widely diffused of all tongues the Church's responsibility is great indeed. A common language must knit nations together, and make their influence upon each other more marked. It is necessary, therefore, to examine the characteristics of the Church of this race.

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## CHAPTER II

### The Church of the Race

Duality of temperament—Disregard for logic—Dual attitude towards Means of Grace—Two theories of the Church—Advantages of dual temperament—The Catholic Church and the separated brethren—Temper of our ritual—Stability of the Church—English Church and Anglican Communion—Sense of individual and national independence—Value of it—Archbishop Temple on it—Our Mission in India—The gift of accepting all the facts—Acquiescence in mystery.

The Church of such a people if racy of the soil must have a history full of fascination for the philosopher and historian, more varied, perhaps more full of surprising situations, than any other part of the Ancient Church, and surely with something very definite to impart to other races.

Duality is written all over its life, and we seem to be able more than almost any others to balance facts one against another, cheerfully accepting them all because they seem to be true, although voices innumerable shout to us that belief in one of them is only compatible with the rejection of all others. We smile: for our characteristic attitude reminds us of the exercise of two eyes placed far apart in order to get focussing power, although others hold that the possession of one eye is infinitely superior. In the same way we believe in two feet although they must perforce advance alternately, making necessary for us an art of balancing which is difficult to learn and

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seems quite a needless addition to the burdens of life, since many tell us that one leg must be far the best: yet we progress. Cheerfully we accept the existence within ourselves of two temperaments, although outsiders declare that it is destructive of all family life; we refuse to banish either the one or the other, holding that each has great merits. The noise in the house is deafening at times, but we prosper. Time after time what we call common sense steps in to check some scheme of Church Reformation, which has for its object the destruction of duality in favour of what we may call monism, and all because we insist upon remaining fully Catholic in spite of certain dangers, and yet Protestant in regard to movements contrary to the teaching of Scripture. Nothing, once again, is more racy of the soil in which this Church grows than the habit of criticizing ourselves more ruthlessly than any outsider would dare to do; the unwary foretell that a Church so full of imperfections, according to our own testimony, must be at the point of death by reason of such serious internal maladies: but we live.

All our answers are provoking because they are addressed first to one group, then to another, but in the hearing of both. Two of these are well known, and may be mentioned because of their undeniably vigorous humour. When accused of imperfections we retort, "When your chimney has smoked as long as ours, there will be some soot in it." When asked where we were before the Reformation, we answer with some rudeness, "Where were you before you gave your face such a washing this morning?"

I now proceed to enlarge on some of our peculiarities, leaving it to the reader to determine whether they are merits or limitations or a mixture of both. At least they help us to believe that we are capable of understanding many diverse races in the work of evangelization.

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No one understands so well as the English race, upon one side of it, what I must call for lack of a better name the unimaginative, prosaic view of the life of the Church. There is a definite section of our race to whom outward ordinances, Means of Grace and systems, however venerable, or however clearly invested with sacred sanctions, have little value or meaning. It is a racial quality or defect, and nothing, in such cases, is likely to alter it. One result has been the formation of innumerable Christian Bodies, separated from us, yet full of vitality, increasing in numbers and of world-wide influence. In the world they far out-number to-day the Church of this race, are full of spiritual life and work, and yet, for many such even the Sacraments ordained by the Lord Himself seem to have little meaning except as venerable memorials commanded to be used and therefore kept in use. Their spiritual house is not built, so to speak, of stone, because there is no necessity for any permanent building of any particular type. Anything that gives shelter for the time appears to be sufficient, and each generation must be responsible for its own building, its shape and also its general arrangements. Organic continuity, succession, seem to have no interest for them since the conception of the way in which the Spirit works is not in any sense aided by any special forms or organizations or means however ancient. To one who does not sympathize with these views but has passed through the whole of them in his own life, it seems as though the Temple of God on earth is supposed by some to be built of clouds forming, dissolving, re-uniting and taking any shape, however fantastic: and clearly it is no manner of use to ask what may be the form of that Temple one thousand years hence, nor need we be responsible for it. To such minds the conception that the Church of God is a great fabric built up stone by stone by each generation, each layer being responsible for

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all that is to rest upon it in the future, and very particularly responsible for its stability organically one thousand years hence and for all time, has no weight and perhaps no significance.

The reason for making these reflections is that this temper exists largely within our own Church, and we have to find room for it alongside of a very different attitude, reminding us once again of the duality with which, as a race, we have to reckon more than others. This tendency is not to be dismissed or treated with contempt by opposing opinions. On the contrary, at times it has been a valuable counterbalance in days of special peril. In time to come we shall discover the same temper in some of the great races whom we are helping to bring within the Christian fold. It is an attitude which has its serious danger if left to become predominant, and not merely an element; and it is surely a great thing that we have personal experience within our own Church of this general attitude, and are thus able to deal wisely with it. So manifold are the natures and tempers of human beings, that the Church which has realized most richly their diversity is most likely to win the greatest triumphs, and to be most useful for God's work. There are numbers of our own race who are fed spiritually and, in the truest sense, without sacraments and ordinances, proving to us that God is not tied to any one means, however sacred, however plainly ordained. It is disconcerting and even provoking to be compelled to make such a confession, because it lands us in that painful, balanced, dual state which is all that is possible to those who accept all the facts. Human life is a strange and baffling study, and God Almighty knows our limitations. We have with us to-day a Christian organization world-wide in its aims, English in origin, and a solid force in its beneficent social work especially; yet it seems to live by the greatest

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amount of noise and glaring advertisement, the most complete contempt for ancient Means of Grace, and apparently with no desire for learning or refinement or reticence; yet it is doing a great work. Even what seem to most of us the root ideas of the Church of God, are not assented to by many excellent, spiritually-minded Church people, except in a half sense. Accept the fact, and your range of knowledge and of sympathy is enormously extended. The Church of the Far West has so far, it seems to me, a great advantage over the Latin or the "Orthodox." And in the continents to be vanquished for Christ's sake, there is abundant scope for every quality and all the experience we possess.

It may be considered unnecessary to dwell upon the opposite temper or attitude which we also thoroughly understand, and is what will be known as the Catholic temper. But since this is the central gift which we impart to the Churches which we are helping to create in all lands, it is necessary to describe it. It is not, in my opinion, a party view, but a question of temperament, and one which affects our attitude towards life generally both in the past, the present, and the future.

Compare the following attitude with that already given above. The purpose of the Lord was to build a Church, an organic structure to last for all time. Its form was fashioned step by step under all sorts of influences, and with many mistakes, yet in main outline its shape has been directed by the Holy Spirit as architect, with the express design that it should be stable. It is one building, with a vital and organic connection throughout its parts, but with a power of adaptation to the character of any race. Its government is not monarchical, or democratic, or oligarchic, but partakes of them all: perhaps the best designation of it is constitutional. To this stable edifice, as certain to be standing one thousand years

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hence as it stood one thousand years ago, the promise of the Lord is assured, and we rest content with this, being most unwilling to make negative propositions about other organizations. This Church, the only stable Church in our opinion till the end comes, is a teaching body—it produced the New Testament, and that Book is used as proving and testing its doctrines from age to age. Nothing that cannot be proved thereby is necessary for salvation.

The Presence of the Lord is in that Church, the supernatural is natural to its life, its chief ordinances such as the two Sacraments, and Confirmation, and Ordination, are so sacred, and such Means of Grace, that awe surrounds them and they stand apart as hallowed and unique spiritual channels. There is an atmosphere and taste about the life of this Church which is all its own. It tinges the prayers and fashions the attitude and makes the atmosphere of our spiritual life; and of late we have summed all this up in the phrase "the Historic Episcopate." For that is not a mere form of government, but as I have said, a definite attitude, atmosphere, taste, a sort of perfume almost, which you discover best when you step outside its limits. There are vast organizations, denominations, Churches, whatever may be the name they desire to be called by, outside this ancient, and, to us, stable Church. Their devotion and work has been magnificent; for all their great achievements for Christ's kingdom throughout the world we love them: we gaze upon them as one would look upon a splendid athlete winning race after race: but the old Church of this nation notes also, and with foreboding, a look of delicacy in the athlete's face: it is often so with athletes, and we ask, will he live the ordinary span of life? then we shake our heads. I can only give my own conviction, formed chiefly in regions outside the mother land, that the stability of Christianity

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depends upon the Catholic Church and its order and temper. The only anchor that can hold till the end in spite of any storm from whatever direction, is the Catholic anchor with its long, unbroken chain. If this be so, then, since we are responsible to the fullest extent of our power for the stability of the Faith one thousand years hence, the order and temper and attitude of the Catholic Church is part of the "deposit" which is too sacred to be parted with for any consideration whatsoever, and becomes an essential part of our contribution to the races of the earth. It is possible, fortunately, to say this with unfeigned respect, with genuine affection, for those who do not agree with us. And it is possible also to say it, holding firm at the same time to the habit we have of tearing off from the building which we love so much the growths which hurt it. The chain of the anchor has to be constantly examined and carefully hosed to prevent the action of creatures that eat holes in it, or to wash away the thick incrustations of mud upon it. This is our Protestantism.

In regard to its ritual we stand in a remarkable position as to our influence upon the Churches we are creating in all lands. A characteristic note of our race is reticence in attitude, speech and gesture. We understand the love of stillness even to Quakerlike dimensions. No Moslem is more averse to emblems and figures than are many of our own Church. Some express reverence best by an attitude frozen into a statue by the realization of the Divine Presence, and they abhor all genuflexions or movements. This in part is one of our own experiences. Others delight in motion, colour, postures, varied vestments: we own to a perfect acquaintance with this temperament also and are prepared to go as far as we can to satisfy not a party but a temperament. At the same time and upon the whole I believe

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that our own worship as a race will be characterized by a ritual which is sterner and more reticent than either that of the Latin or of the East. Early English architecture perhaps expresses our feeling better than Late Decorated. Writing as I am an Introduction to a collection of Essays on the growth of race Churches in many parts of the world, I press earnestly for this detachment of mind on the part of members of the Church of our own race in regard to the ritual of such Churches. What advice are we to give them? If we have an operative and trusted Consultative Council for the Anglican Communion, if it is to win its way by its wisdom to an authoritative Court of Appeal for our Communion, it must cultivate a detached frame of mind in regard to ritual and all outward signs of reverence. Thoughts of party triumph must be banished. Temperament, climate, history, must be weighed. What is the appropriate ritual for the Catholic Church, part of the Anglican Communion for want of a better title at present, in China or in India? I can imagine the greatest possible differences existing between those two Churches of the future. We must not force temperate-clime predilections upon the equator, nor Western ideas upon Easterns. We must not recommend the Western form of Collect, for example, packed tight as it is with meaning in the smallest possible space, to the Oriental whose mouth is not compelled to be shut to keep out the cold and who loves flowing language as naturally as flowing garments. I have taken ritual as an example of a subject which is far-reaching, and chiefly in order to impress upon our race the inestimable value of our wide experience in temperaments, even to extremes, within the Church of our race, as one of our greatest assets in helping to create race Churches in all Continents. I mean, this question is not one that affects the Church of England alone within its own land, although no one can

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fail even there to realize what I have called our duality of temperament. It affects also the success or failure of our greatest work in the world, the establishment of a stable Christianity among every race. To seek to banish one temperament or the other from the Church, to pour scorn upon one side or the other, is to strike from our hands one of the best weapons we possess for some of the noblest as well as most delicate and most beneficent work we have to do in the world. As one called to scan the whole earth and its peoples and their needs in the cause of Christ's kingdom, I plead for the fullest imagination, the greatest possible power of sympathetic intuition, the assistance of all the varying temperaments of our race and in our Church to-day, not as hostile elements, but as necessary factors for the highest missionary work of the Church; and as I call attention to the wider outlook, and its lesson, to be duly weighed before any one dreams of narrowing the horizon of our life at home, it is not out of place to mention, with the high authority of Bishop Creighton, that it was a woman who first perceived that the English Church was to be more than a local Church of one race, and then it was an archbishop who met his death on the scaffold. The Bishop says—

"For some time, she (Queen Elizabeth) alone understood the difference between an English church and an Anglican Church. Owing to her resolution there was time for the lesson to be learned: and Laud was the first who fully apprehended its full significance. To him the Church of England was not, as it had been to his predecessors, an arrangement for expressing the religious consciousness of the English people. It was a system instinct with life, full of mighty possibilities with a world-wide mission peculiarly its own." [1]

Another note of the Church of our race is, of course,

[1] "Historical Lectures," Laud.

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its ingrained sense of national independence. It at once divides us, by what seems an impassable chasm, from the Latin Church. To us it is an axiom, born of temperament, that while the Church must be Catholic it must also be racially and nationally expressed and the government must be national, but with scope for the larger unities freely adapted. Every system has its own special dangers, a fact often forgotten by those who, while noting some obstinacy among our own race, in regard to some of what I have called the larger unities, straightway pine for the Latin straight-jacket. Once more, as a student of missions, I ask the reader to note that if he obtained his wish, he would lose one of the best factors he possesses for the establishment of national Catholic Churches in many lands. But has not the Latin Church succeeded in fixing its straight-jacket upon every race in the world, and are they not well content to wear it? It is not for me to prophesy about the future of that marvellous engine of spiritual power, but I may suggest what, again, experience of many lands has taught me. The Time-Spirit is against the Latin Church among every race except the Latin. Slowly it is altering the extent of its influence in other than Latin regions, perhaps, unconsciously to itself. When the nations of the world have "found themselves" they will have the Catholic Church on a national foundation. Obviously, it is a much more difficult matter to educate races to be independent, and, at the same time, to abide by great principles, than it is to hold them in some sort of pupillage. Compare the scope and difficulty of our work, politically, in India, for example, and the ideals of the Dutch in Java and Sumatra. We shall never obtain the true contribution of any Church to the Body of Christ till the Church of that land is racy of the soil while it remains Catholic.

I cannot better illustrate our own temper of personal and

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national independence than by relating the most interesting of many memorable interviews with the late Archbishop Temple. I had been asked by him to discover the best man to fill the vacancy in a certain See. I went to him with a name, saying to him at the same time, "He is one, your Grace, who needs to be definitely called by authority. If you will so call him and tell him he must go, he will obey your command. Will you call him?" The Archbishop paused, and then answered, "No." I was surprised, and ventured to inquire the reason. He answered, "Cannot go beyond the Prayer-book." I was mystified, and inquired what this opinion meant. He replied, "You see, the Prayer-book makes me ask, whenever I ordain a deacon or a priest, or when I consecrate a bishop, 'Art thou truly called?' I cannot go beyond the Prayer-book." Of course, I was exceedingly interested, as indeed every one always was with all the sayings of that great Englishman. I went home pondering the problem so presented to me, and began to concoct a theory. Was it possible that such questions were the unconscious but natural result of racial temperament? Was there any other ancient Ordinal which contained such questions? Was it left to the Church of the English race, when it became vocal in its own language, to add these questions, since every one of us is expected and taught to hold individual converse with his Heavenly Father, and has a right to be asked what message God has given to his individual conscience, before any one, however competent, commands him to act? In a word, is it out of the question to order a member of our race, as a general rule, to do a thing till the man himself has been consulted, for fear of defying some divine leading personal to himself? I applied to a Liturgiolist to answer the first question, and was assured by him that the questions referred to were unique, so

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far as Ordinals of the Ancient Church were concerned. As to my theory he said it was of extreme interest. I offer it as a problem. If there is truth in it, it places another valuable asset in the hands of the Anglican Communion, and it seems to be a position clean contrary to the spirit of the Latin Communion, and a contribution of ours alone. Some day it may help us to solve one of the most serious problems of the world at this time, politically as well as ecclesiastically. Statesmen are, of course, perturbed by the action of the most advanced democratic ideals of the Western races of Europe as they touch the East, and its densely populated tropical lands. Up to the present time, it has been the custom for the clearest thinkers to prophesy that the Eastern races, especially in the tropics, as they have always been governed autocratically, will never desire any other form of government. The time has come when these certainties must be called in question; and, in the slow growth of a deeper sense of brotherhood, it may be the office of the British race, after many mistakes and much suffering to nations who to-day have no capacity for democracy, to help them to the gift of approximation to constitutional government.

But ought not the experiment to be tried first in the spiritual sphere, where the difficulties are less formidable? Ought not the Church of the race to show the way? Possibly we shall never receive the contribution of the Church of India, for example, to the Body of Christ till that Church is self-governed. No Church of the Catholic type is so fitted for such a work as ours. At the same time there are difficulties in the path of a Church on the Catholic foundation with a "deposit" of order and a definite temper, and a conception of the Kingdom of Christ as organically built up which must be conserved, which do not hamper our separated brethren. I believe it is true that after four centuries of Chinese missions the

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Latin Church has never ventured to consecrate a Chinese to the Episcopate. I think I am right also in asserting that in most lands no one can become a priest of the Latin Communion unless he can show three generations of Christian relatives. Obviously it is the power to transmit orders which constitutes the gravity of the problem for any part of the ancient Church. It is, of course, a remarkable fact that the Anglican Communion has begun by consecrating to the Episcopate members of an African race, and not of the great intellectual and highly civilized nations of Asia. The day has now come when the work, mainly of the splendid young athlete aforesaid, has forced to the front the question of a Church of China to be created by Chinese opinion, but obviously for the most part outside that conception of it which we hold to be essential to real stability. It is a problem to test the highest statesmanship of the bishops of our Communion in the Far East. How far can they aid in creating a Chinese Church which, in our opinion, cannot be stable doctrinally or organically? On the other hand, ought not the Church of our race to go all lengths to use its influence for the preservation of a Catholic foundation? No one approaches the problem quite as we do: not the Latin: for he does not know ecclesiastically the spirit of individual and national independence: not the separated brethren: for they do not appreciate the ancient Order of the Church, which in our opinion is the only guarantee for coming centuries of a sure hold upon the cardinal doctrines of the Faith. I cannot help applying to ourselves in the face of these tremendous problems words used of Lord Dufferin, albeit I do it with a sense of humour:—

"Civil he was and mild mannered in a sense, but one felt that there was steel beneath the velvet, and even that the velvet was rather thin. He had, so to speak, moved



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about in powder mills for thirty or forty years, rarely causing an intentional (and then carefully circumscribed) explosion, but habitually correcting dangerous arrangements, and shifting lights and matches to a safe distance from the explosives."[1]

It is not difficult to keep away from powder magazines and let them care for themselves, not generally with a successful issue: it is still easier to throw lighted matches carelessly about, disbelieving in the existence of the powder barrels. It is our special lot to have a most complete belief in the powder magazine, and also to take our share in preserving their forces for rightful purposes. Only on those terms shall we gain China's real contribution to the Church of the future.

Again, it is impossible to ignore a characteristic of our race which has been commented upon by scores of writers; I must leave it to each reader to decide whether it is a gift or a limitation. Let Admiral Mahan state the point: speaking of the British officer he says—

"To meet difficulties as they arise instead of by foresight, to learn by hard experience rather than by reflection or premeditation are national traits, just as is contempt for constitutions which are made, not evolved."

At the bottom of this attitude is our love for facts and our dislike of dreams: we call it common sense, others term it stupidity. Our respect for facts, and for facts only, as a basis of action is, I believe, one of the most precious of the contributions of the Church of the Far West to the Body of Christ. Such a temperament has obvious defects of a serious nature: but the criticism only means that our nature has to be supplemented by other qualities flung down by God in other regions where we can easily find them. Obviously our temper is a precious safeguard

[1] *Times Literary Supplement*, February 10, 1905.

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to the facts of the Faith upon which our religion is based. In spite of all who urge us to take refuge in ethical principles and sit loose to the facts of the Incarnation and Resurrection we answer doggedly, "If Christ hath not been raised your faith is vain." We do not believe that the Christian religion could be founded on mists or clouds, however beautiful. This is a contribution by us to the limitations of Indian thought, and without this supplement I believe a stable Church of India will never be built.

The same quality which protests against those who would turn facts into visions with a light heart makes us reject dreams added to facts as though they were facts. The Church of our race, for example, will never accept the materialization of fancy in the Latin Church, as in dogmas about the intermediate state, or the Assumption of the Virgin. We ask for proofs, and in their absence we blow the dreams away, as paths built of vapour, and not macadamized roads into the unknown.

The same love of facts has its reflex action upon us, in a characteristic contentment with mystery where no facts are available. Most races, I think, are unhappy unless they possess a formulated theory about every question; and, consequently, we provoke them by what they call a stupid acquiescence in mystery and in a refusal to theorize. No English Churchman has taught us this lesson more splendidly than Dean Church: it is one of the most priceless lessons of his life that we should bravely accept all the facts of life, ignoring none of them, and when they bewilder us, just to keep on doggedly and trustfully waiting for light, conscious that the universe in whatever direction we look, intellectual, spiritual, physical, or even moral, is, perhaps, more dark than light: but the light is God's light, and what He has given is sufficient for our purposes. This is the English

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character raised to its finest type—the result of the highest imagination coupled with the sanest common sense. It will not be out of place to direct the reader to Dean Church's Sermon on Bishop Andrewes,[1] in order to illustrate this subject, since his words are, I think, the most perfect representation extant of the characteristically English attitude towards the great problems of the Reformation, and, therefore, a description of the contribution of our Church to-day, to the Churches of other lands which are slowly coming to life under our guidance. At the same time, let us admit that it must be maddening to those who have perforce to formulate logical theories even at the expense of ignoring some facts, to be met with this dogged and to them unimaginative, temper. One Church says to us: "It is impossible to conceive of a revelation having been given us by God, without a definite infallible guide somewhere, to determine what that revelation is." We refuse to accept the logic. Another says to us: "Your Bible is not infallibly inspired word by word, therefore, you have no divine revelation." Our answer is, "We don't deal in 'therefores.'" Bishop Butler, of course, is another characteristic Englishman in his system of answering every objection against the Faith by supplying a greater difficulty in some other science. It is certainly provoking, but surely this temper must be a contribution to other Churches, who may be utterly different in mental and spiritual constitution, and who need such aid as we can give. Let us, at least, attempt to gauge some of the results already attained by the Church of our race, and I shall be pardoned if I connect with them some dreams of the future.

[1] "Pascal and other Sermons."

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## CHAPTER III

### Effects already attained by the Church—Dreams of the Future

Contributions of races may be evil as well as good—Women's work a beneficent modern contribution—Effects of Christendom on Africa, India, Burmah—Possible merits and defects of Chinese race—South America—The Slav—Three great religious forces—Dreams—The new Renaissance—Possible concentration of good and evil—Redemption of all creation.

It is natural for us to consider the subject of this book as being chiefly the good contribution of all races to the Body of Christ, but the student of world-wide movements will not forget that there are always two streams meeting in the contact of race with race. As a rule, the swifter of the two conveys the evil we possess, the better influence lags behind. It may be, therefore, that there is a double reason for our effort to appraise the value of the beneficent contribution of great races to the Church, since we may have already absorbed the turbid flood, and we justly call, and all the more loudly, for the pure river of influence. I know not how this may be. Surveying the whole history of the Bible, we are brought face to face, first, in the older Dispensation, with the evil brought to Israel by contact with others; in due time, the chosen race gave back its splendid revenge. We have often weighed the evils as well as the gifts of Babylonians, Greeks, Romans, Goths, Teutons, and Anglo-Saxons, as they have affected the Church, and we may note their effects to-day. Can the

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same be said already of Africa, India, China, Japan? It is a subject requiring more knowledge than I possess. But assuredly the influence of India upon our people in the last two centuries must have been enormous, filtering through all classes. Has it left a stain as well as a blessing? In a less degree, we may ask the question of China and Japan. Has all this intercourse brought the nations in reality nearer together? Have vices of the East had more effect upon the West than the virtues? Has life in the tropics lowered the moral tone of the life of our people in temperate climes? It is part of the great problem of "the contribution" which must be weighed by those competent to do it.

The most hopeful new factor in the contribution of the Church to other races will come, in the twentieth century, through the ministry of women. That is, it will be new in the volume of its effort. Nothing is more cheering to the Christian statesman than the certainty that he will have in vastly increased measure this potent engine as a means of grace to the nations. At present we have used the coarser sex almost as if it were the only sex God needed; this has been almost wholly the case if we eliminate the work of the last fifty years. The day is coming when in some lands the white staff may be more upon the scale of the workers in an English parish—4 priests, 50 laymen, 200 women; and it is difficult to say where such an accession of women's work will be most in place, whether among the beautiful mannered races of India or among child peoples.

It is not only that Christian men of every race need Christian wives if they are to grow in grace, nor that women can alone work among women in many a land, but that women may be required as an indispensable influence upon the men of any race before they yield to the call of the Gospel.

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In Africa the impact of the white man, and therefore presumably of Christendom, has, during the last twenty years, resulted in one of the noblest and one of the vilest achievements in the history of that continent. Let any one read the two books, "England in Egypt" and "Red Rubber," and say whether my language is not amply justified. Nothing nobler has ever been done in any land than the record of England in Egypt, and you may search the annals of the slave trade for anything worse than the horrors of the Congo. The two pictures must be placed side by side if we are to weigh the effect of Europe on Africa of late years. Speaking more generally, I fear it is true that although the slave trade has virtually been abolished, the drink trade took its place. A man once told me that he had sailed from an European port in a large vessel, whose cargo for West Africa consisted almost wholly of that vilest of liquors which has been called "distilled damnation," and whose passengers consisted wholly of missionaries. Things are better now, and these damaging statements do not refer at all to some regions of Africa, which may still be called the distressful land, although some of the best Christian work in the world is being done in it. Africa is so vast, so little connected, that it hardly seems to possess a voice to tell of its own contribution to the Body of Christ in days to come. It is for this reason that there is no article in this book dealing actually with Africa proper.

One manifest effect of the Church's advance in this continent has been the challenge given in return by Islam. Nowhere to anything like the same extent has that opposing trumpet been sounded so clearly as in Africa: the result of the battle cannot be foretold till we know how fully the Christian cause will be taken up. But however strong the Church's forward movement may be, there are natural causes which make for temporary

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success on the part of Islam. Were we dealing with a highly educated race we might assert confidently that the Time-Spirit is against the Moslem cause unless it becomes simply a modern form of Unitarianism. Dealing as it does in Africa almost entirely with child races in different stages of progress, the issue is more serious for the Faith of the Gospel in the near future.

The initial difficulty with so many African races is that one is tempted to bring them only into the Old Testament first, to keep them, for example, at Mount Sinai for some length of time with no more than a glimpse of the Saviour of the world, for the express purpose of teaching them holy fear as a necessary preparation for love of His Holy Name. How to pass over this initial stage in lands where the bad side of so-called Christendom is much in evidence without encouraging a superficial type of Christianity is one of the perplexing problems of this continent. At present outsiders complain that the Faith has only succeeded in making Africans troublesome, unmanageable, inflated with ideas unsuited for them. The accusation is true exactly in the same sense that English boys of fifteen or sixteen are felt to have come to an age which is uncomfortable for sober parents in middle life. The effect on Africa of Christendom is at present like that of leaven in the loaf when only one-third of the time permitted for baking has elapsed.

India, so far as the educated class is concerned, is feeling the effect of Western ideas of liberty, and the Church has added its quota to the same movement. In religion observers tell us that there is among the same class a turning, albeit often unconscious, towards a theistic attitude of mind. Perhaps, as part of the same effect, educated Indian thought certainly does not now adopt a contemptuous tone towards the Faith of the Gospel,

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but is just so much impressed by it as is shown by references in newspapers which praise the Christian standard of public life: and in their more religious writings the Indian is anxious to prove that Hinduism accepts all that is vital in the Christian Faith. History repeats itself. Nor can we doubt that the existence in India of men and women for centuries who have come to give their best and to take nothing must have had a deep effect. The growing wisdom of these men and women in their dealings with Hindus and Moslems, has mitigated a good deal of the veiled opposition to missions by English civilians which is one of the most strange phenomena of British Christianity.

The effect of the Faith of Christ in quickening Hinduism and Mohammedanism into greater activity is paralleled by the same result on Buddhism in Ceylon and Burmah; for the missions of Christendom are no longer a negligible quantity anywhere. There is, of course, a certain reflex action on our own race. We hear of a Moslem mosque in Liverpool under the charge of an Englishman who has embraced Islam. We have Englishmen in Burmah and Ceylon who are preaching neo-Buddhism; and a certain section of English people play with Oriental cults as an improvement upon the Gospel message. We are well accustomed to these eddies in the stream. The Christian philosopher has often found consolation in the trite reflection that there is no limit to the eccentricity of the human mind. Events may prove that the steady pouring into India of the influence of the Gospel, albeit it seems to be absorbed and to disappear, may soon have astounding effects in a land where every man naturally waits for his neighbour to take the lead; and what has been said in a book on Egypt may be true of India: "What seemed incredible was dismissed as impossible. In estimating

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probabilities east of Suez, there are few surer ways than this of inviting disaster."

I have on my own part determined to treat movements in the Far East, religious as well as political, more and more with the sympathy expressed by silence. In the case of Japan wholly so: and in regard to China, the same feeling grows upon me. I shall content myself with making the following observation—

The Chinese race has always seemed to me to possess qualities singularly akin to our own. And of all the great races of the earth, I have an uneasy feeling that this race may feed one of our own racial weaknesses, namely, the tendency to be content with conduct which does not rest upon definite belief in the unseen. All of us are familiar with the stock remarks of a certain section of us, "What does it matter what you believe or don't believe so long as your life is right?" "We are all going the same way, what does it signify what we believe?" In a mining township in the Antipodes, the accepted religious attitude generally is, "Give every one a show from Roman Catholics to Salvation Army. They are all equally good." It may be nothing but my own ignorance, but I watch with wonder the course of a race which for thousands of years has reverenced more than any one else the teacher who told them not to trouble about the unseen, but to be content to fix their eyes on conduct. What is to be their attitude in the future towards Christian dogma? Are they to throw their influence into what many Churchmen call the undenominational scale, satisfied with a Christian belief expressed by the least possible common denominator, so long as conduct is respectable? I may be quite wrong. It may be that the Chinese race has precisely the same love for facts as we have, and may stand shoulder to shoulder with us as we repeat S. Paul's words, "If Christ hath not been raised your faith is vain."

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There is one mysterious continent, South America. I so style it because here only in the world does there seem to be forming a new race, composed of Southern Europeans and of the ancient inhabitants of the region in question. What is to be its place in the world and in the Church?

There is one mysterious race—the Slav. Philosophers, novelists, journalists discourse on its qualities, its unexpected depths and limitations. More and more they affirm that it is Eastern not Western in disposition, but living on the boundary line. All hold the opinion that it has a great future: some prophesy that it and it alone will compete with the Anglo-Saxon for world power. What will be its effect on the side of Christendom? At present it is not a force in proportion to its vast reserve strength. The three greatest religious forces in the world possessing aggressive power, are two sections of Christendom, the Roman and the Anglo-Saxon on one side, and Islam on the other. And it is interesting to note that Islam is a debased form of Old Testament Judaism. The twentieth century is the battle ground.

I now proceed to do what the Englishman hates. He is proud of working hard all day and sleeping soundly all night without visions. Here, then, my Introduction comes to an end so far as a large part of my own race is concerned. I am about to dream.

Pass on to the day when every race in the world is more Christian than non-Christian. Some will say, in that case, "then cometh the end." It may be so, but it is not the vision I behold. I return to the subject upon which I have already touched—what will happen when the Body made up of all races is complete? It is obvious that we shall then understand how it is that races differ. Advance in forms of life means greater specialization of functions. We shall no longer dream of mixing races of

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men wholly dissimilar any more than we should attempt by any process to change the foot into the hand or the eye. In order to attain this end it may be right to confine each race to its own territory, not from aversion or race prejudice but for the opposite reason, in order to get the full value of the functions of each race by keeping the strain pure. We shall look with surprise at the efforts once made to Anglicize the East, or to convert into some new type the customs, manners and dress of the north, south, and middle regions of the world. The notes of the octave are scattered over the earth: let us collect them, combine them, give each its full weight, and listen to the strain with all its parts complete. In this sense, but only in this, we shall believe in one full note of humanity. I ask, what will be the powers of such a humanity? Even in the realm of the highest Christian truth there seems to be a reality to which the great mystic of the New Testament refers when he gives us the message of the Lord, "I will write upon him mine own new name." Is it possible that here on this earth when each race has pressed the full meaning out of such names as, Saviour, Master, Friend, Shepherd, the Way, the Truth, the Life, the Advocate, some other name will unfold itself the sound of which has not yet reached us because it cannot be comprehended? I dream of the new song, the new heaven and the new earth to be realized when humanity is Christian.

But it is not only in the domain of the wholly spiritual that the Church of Christ looks for marvels. I ask whether we ought not to expect a new Renaissance, greater intellectually than the world has yet experienced, as the result of the full Christian consciousness compacted of the contribution of all races? The noblest products of pre-Christian learning we possess, the gropings also after God under some inspiration but

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without what we call revelation, Greek, Roman, Indian, Chinese. The liberation of thought and the meeting of European teaching in one focus we have already experienced; and it has become one of the great landmarks in the history of human thought. But does the Christian Church, still fettered as it is, and with victories only half won, merely look back to these landmarks? Has it no hope of a greater age? Poetry, printing, science, blossomed afresh in the sixteenth century in Europe. What is to be the effect of the contact of the human life of all the continents when they meet in the Body of Christ with every faculty hallowed by the Spirit? Artists say at present that all the lines of beauty are now known. There is no curve, no further style of architecture to be discovered; that in sculpture, painting, and music, the great types are well known already. Can this be true till the complete Christian humanity has been born? Surely that is a force as little known as electricity was a hundred and fifty years ago.

We have been taught that one or other of two forces may be expected to produce a new era in human life: a fresh intermixture of blood producing a new race, and a new religion. In a sense the Renaissance acted like a new religion since it freed the human mind from an incubus, and affected every avenue of thought. The focussing of all human life in one Christian Church would be in a sense the creation of a fuller religion, because it would be the interpretation of the facts of the Gospel from every human point of view. It is good at least to hope: whose ideals should be so glorious as those of the Church of Christ which cannot die, and for whom the best is always in front? If there is any truth in my dream then we may gradually be approaching an age in comparison with which nothing that has happened even in the last five hundred years can be set down; a

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greater Renaissance, a more complete change in human character and ideals than those made by printing, or the steam-engine and electricity, a new dimension of human life. Shall we possess a greater poet than Shakespeare, because the sympathetic imagination and insight of man will have been developed by the spiritual contribution of every race acting as one?

The finest thought of man at present in architecture is only racial—Eastern or Western. Even Christianity has only been working fragmentarily. Will it work soon as one whole? In colour and form is not the great painter still to come? We have nearly lost the capacity of producing great sacred pictures, and for comprehensible reasons, but is it not because we are preparing for a new birth of sacred art? Most of all should this be true of music and of poetry. It may be produced by one of two opposite causes—either by the age of peace, or else by the age when the great camps of good and evil will be both of them more concentrated. However it may be, the union of races in the Church ought to elicit from the heart of men music of sound and of song with a new note in it. My dreams take me even into the region of Government. Is there a new form of human Government awaiting realization? We have experience of monarchy, oligarchy, democracy, autocracy, and combinations of them. In chemistry certain ingredients combine and create a new substance. As stones laid together make not merely a heap of stone but a house, so the Builder of the Church may reveal to us a new thing in the ordering of man's life in all its departments, the rule of the Father of all men more fully at work on earth. This Body grows all the more healthily when it is being built up contemporaneously in all lands, the effect of each limb on every other acting and reacting all the time.

Such visions, however, are not the limit of our thoughts

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for the future. Behind the redemption of humanity there is a glimpse given us by the Apostle of the Gentiles of a greater thing, the redemption of Creation. It is wonderful how that great man has forestalled our most striking modern ideas in contemplating the unity of Creation, and of a force great enough to bring it all into line. Such possibilities, however much they fill us with delight, may yet be classified as beyond praying for, because they are beyond our understanding. It is in such a category that we must place this part of the Christian dream of the future. We cannot understand what the redemption of all life means, including vegetation and sea and land, and all of what we consider to be inanimate nature. In some mysterious sense a change is to pass over all creation, and their songs of praise when they become vocal are already indicated in the Apocalypse. The very words are given, first, of Nature's praise by itself without man, then of man without the rest of Nature, then is given the crash of music from all Creation animate and inanimate when it joins in one voice to bless the Creator's name in such language as, "Unto Him that sitteth on the throne and unto the Lamb be the blessing and the honour and the glory and the dominion for ever and ever."

The vision of the future, however bright it may be, has also its sombre side. I see no prospect of the disappearance of evil so long as our present conditions of life continue. What may be the end of all in a life not of faith but of sight, no one can pretend to foretell at present: however bright part of the vision may be the remainder is more dark. Nothing seems to avail further than to banish evil from this place or that, but evil is not killed. So far as we know, sin began in the sight of God and chose to be evil with full knowledge of what good was: so in dealing with mankind the Church will never lay down its arms in this stage of life. Men have

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long ago given up the theory that knowledge killed evil because evil was ignorance. Upon the contrary, knowledge may be excellent food for the evil organism: civilization may only refine it to a more delicate point, as Dean Church has shown us in one of his immortal sermons. The effect of the victories of the Cross on earth seems to be to throw back evil into a more concentrated form. Sir Ian Hamilton in his diary of the Russo-Japanese war writes suggestively of his growing conviction that the Russian army, as it fell back, was becoming more and more like cotton wool compressed into a tighter space and displaying an increasing capacity for resistance. The experience of the Church of God on earth will be, I think, in the same direction. Already in some regions of the earth men tell us that it is becoming increasingly difficult to be "neither hot nor cold," to maintain a neutral position and to make the best of both worlds; good and evil are concentrating themselves into rival camps. Men are no longer ashamed of confessing that they have no belief in God or devil, and of living wholly outside the unseen and for self alone. On the other hand never was there an age which could produce so many saints as this of ours, men and women who have wholly chosen the good and with a vision of God the revealer of good. The presence of Christ Himself on earth only made certain men who beheld Him gnash their teeth more fiercely, and desire to kill Him without delay. So it may be that the noblest age for man on earth may be coupled with the sternest warfare with evil, each side more fully armed and disciplined. The only course open to us is the highly characteristic English one—to accept all the facts and to walk bravely and hopefully in the light we possess. Any one may walk in the light—but he is the true soldier who is prepared to walk on in half darkness or temporarily in utter absence of light for MANKIND AND THE CHURCH.

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# I

# THE PAPUANS, A PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC

By the Bishop of New Guinea

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# THE PAPUANS, A PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC[1]

"You know what accepting Christ means to a heathen tribe—you know it means a new, clean life, family purity, education, liberty, the lifting of all life into self-respect, and the quickening of the vision and the hope of souls which used to be in darkness and the shadow of death" (Phillips Brooks, "Light of the World," p. 336).

## CHAPTER I

### The Village Community in Papua

The Pacific—Native Evangelists—Missions in Papua—The Papuan race: (1) Internal life of village community—Occupations—Respect for elders — Exclusiveness — Suspicion — Conceit — Totemism; (2) Relation to outside world—Trading—Warfare—Courage—Cannibalism.

The Cross of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was first raised in the Pacific by the London Missionary Society to its undying glory, Tahiti, one of the Society Islands, being the starting-point in 1797. The Church Missionary Society followed in 1814, Samuel Marsden landing in the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, to win the

[1] The people of British New Guinea or Papua, as known to the Church's mission on the north-east coast, are taken as a typical race of South Pacific Islanders. Though the term "Papuans" is used, these people are strictly Melanesians, being akin in language and customs to those who occupy the islands of Melanesia, or Western Polynesia, viz. the Solomons, Santa Cruz, Banks' Group, the New Hebrides, the Loyalty Islands, and the Fijis. This similarity admits of considerable local variations, yet the type is clear and distinct.



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Maori race to Christ. Thence the Divine message has spread throughout the vast Pacific Ocean so that the ocean's name may now be applied to the myriad islands which it bears on its broad bosom, once the scenes of savagery and bloodshed, now become "pacific" by the power of the "Pax Christi."

The London Missionary Society has evangelized the Society Islands, the Friendly Group (now under Wesleyan influence), Samoa, the Cook's, the New Hebrides (now divided between the Melanesian Mission and the Presbyterians), the Loyalties, the Ellice and Gilbert Groups, and New Guinea. Fiji owes the knowledge of the Gospel mainly to the Wesleyans. The Melanesian Mission has carried the tidings of salvation to the Banks and Torres Islands, to Santa Cruz and the Solomons. The Roman Catholic Church is actively at work throughout the Pacific, but the work of evangelization was begun in nearly every instance by others. The work is by no means done. Throughout large portions of the Solomons and New Guinea it is but just beginning. Yet the armies of the Cross are pressing forward and the present century will certainly see every soul in the South Pacific brought within hearing of the Gospel of Salvation.

The remarkable feature about this great task of evangelizing the "Islands of the Sea" has been the work of native Evangelists. True, Great Britain has given of her best, the names of Samuel Marsden, John Williams, the Selwyns and Bishop Patteson, James Chalmers and Dr. Paton are as well and deservedly known as any in missionary enterprise and there are many others who have done noble things, not so well known, yet no less worthy. Still the statement is true that thousands of lives have been won to Christ by the self-sacrifice and devotion of Pacific Island Evangelists. The New Guinea Mission of the London Missionary Society is but one out

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of their many ventures of faith and the memorial window in the college established by Dr. Lawes at Vatorata commemorates eighty-one of these noble heroes of the Cross. Here is the testimony of one who knew them in more than one part of the Pacific: "They leave their own pleasant islands at the call of the white missionary, and, far from home and kin, they lead a life of privation and monotonous isolation which must require much self-denial. It can in many cases be tolerable only where is devotion to duty or deep religious enthusiasm. Many of them die on service, their humble tribute to the work of humanity and civilization, unknown to and unheeded by the outside world."[1]

The deep devotion of these men is exemplified in the prayer of the Rarotongan teacher who evangelized Samoa: "If we fly to heaven, we shall find Thee there; if we dwell upon the land, Thou art there; if we sail upon the sea, Thou art there; and this affords us comfort; so that we sail upon the ocean without fear, because Thou, O God, art in our ship. The King of our bodies has His subjects to whom He issues His orders; but if He Himself goes with them His presence stimulates their zeal; they begin it with energy, they do it soon, they do it well. O Lord, Thou art the King of our spirits, Thou hast issued orders to Thy subjects to do a great work; Thou hast commanded them to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature; we, O Lord, are going upon that errand, and let Thy presence go with us to quicken us; and enable us to persevere in the great work until we die. Thou hast said Thy presence shall go with Thy people even unto the end of the world. Fulfil, O Lord, to us this cheering promise. I see, O Lord, a compass in this vessel by which the shipmen steer the right

[1] Sir William MacGregor, Government Report, British New Guinea, 1891-2, p. 26.

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way; do Thou be our compass to direct us on the right course, that we may escape obstructions and dangers in our work. Be to us, O Lord, the compass of salvation."[1]

The zeal of these new-won converts has burned brightly. When John Williams met his death at Erromanga in the New Hebrides in 1839, two Samoans offered at once for the post of danger. When some Rarotongans were blown and drifted 1500 miles in a native canoe to the Ellice group their first thought was the opportunity for the Gospel. When the call to evangelize New Guinea was sounded forth Loyalty Islanders pressed forward and met those who warned or discouraged them with the simple answer, "Wherever there are men, missionaries must go!" When in 1881 four teachers, with their wives and children were massacred in New Guinea, twice the number from Tahiti and Rarotonga took their places. "We are going," said one of them, "to a dark land with the light of God's Word. He can make it shine into the hearts of the people of New Guinea as He has made it shine in us. Our work is difficult. God can take care of us; we are not afraid!"[2]

The deepest zeal is expressed in the simplest language. For these dark-skinned teachers are from the child-races of the world, who "bring their glory" into the Holy City, a simplicity of faith and a zeal that no danger can daunt —their offering to the Church's Head. These tender races are doomed to die, we are told, before the relentless advance of European civilization. If it be so, they have their tribute to bring and the Holy City will resound with the joyous cries of the child-races redeemed from the earth. They have a place there and teach the more virile nations that the weak and the sick and the dying should be the chief objects of their care, that they

[1] Rev. J. King, "Ten Decades," p. 178.
[2] "Ten Decades," p. 174.

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may learn from them patience and compassion and loving-kindness — no inconsiderable features in the Christian character.

The evangelization of New Guinea was commenced by the London Missionary Society in 1872; the Roman Catholic Order of the Sacred Heart followed in 1886; the Church of England and Wesleyan Missions were established in 1891. The non-Roman missions work each in an agreed-upon sphere, the London Missionary Society on the south coast, the Church of England on the north-east, and the Wesleyans in the Louisiade and D'Entrecasteaux groups to the east of the mainland. The Roman Catholic Mission has its centre at Yule Island in Hall Sound, and works up the St. Joseph's River. The latest reports give the following facts as to the progress of the various missions in British New Guinea:—

*L.M.S.*—14 European missionaries, 148 native pastors and evangelists, 1166 members, 2112 adherents, 54 schools, 1051 scholars. These school returns seem to be incomplete.

*Sacred Heart Mission.*—55 European priests, brothers, and sisters, and a few Filipino catechists.

*Wesleyan Mission.*—12 European missionaries, 117 native ministers, catechists, teachers, and local preachers; 1193 members, full and on trial; 53 schools, 3283 scholars. The islands dealt with by this mission are very thickly populated.

*Church of England Mission.*—26 European missionaries, 35 South Sea Island and 16 Papuan teachers, 737 baptized, 440 communicants, 21 schools, 1336 scholars, and 4273 attending the mission services.

The race which these various missions are seeking to bring to the knowledge of God can only be understood if it be realized that the unit is the village. The tribes must be considered as communities, in which the

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individual only ventures to reflect the common view of things, to act as the others act. Individualism is the denial of patriotism; to speak or act differently to the rest is to go contrary to every lesson impressed upon human nature from earliest childhood; to do so was well-nigh impossible in the days before the flood of European influence. It is not easy to get a clear and exact view of the old life. These village communities had their own internal life. There were no chiefs. Danger from outside brought men of courage and resource to the front, but when it had passed away they resumed their ordinary place in the community. There was much to occupy the time. The gardens had to be prepared and planted and watered, each piece of land having a regular cycle of cultivation and lying fallow, often three years of the former, eight of the latter. Fences had to be built, wallaby to be hunted, and fish to be caught. Digging-sticks were prepared, spears carved with barbed edges and pointed. The palisade, which surrounded so many villages, was kept in repair, houses rebuilt and renewed, canoes hollowed out, and shields and clubs made ready. Stone axes and adzes needed sharpening, the men's loin cloths and women's grass skirts were prepared and domestic duties performed. Then there were community tasks in which all the men lent a hand—the river was dammed up, the trenches kept clear through which the water passed into the gardens, the native aqueduct repaired by which it was conveyed across a gully. Dancing too took up many evenings, and long discussions as to lines of home and foreign policy—ornaments and tools took many days to fashion, and there was for the young systematic instruction in their various duties to the community. Add to all these the time devoted to wailing for the dead, to death feasts, to gatherings for the friendly exchange

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of food, and the delay caused by sending for the sorcerer or the native doctor who had to be summoned from the mountains. Trading and fighting expeditions would occupy at times many days so that time could not have hung heavily on men's hands.

There was much that was good in this confined life. Respect for the older people was a marked feature. This was of service in keeping order in the village, in restraining acts of violence, in protecting property, and in ensuring the due performance of common duties. Young men were especially afraid of the abuse of their elders whose power lay in the possession of secrets concerning native customs and in the knowledge of incantations the performance of which was essential to the public welfare. These secrets were unknown to men of middle age and were only handed down to son or successor when old age had laid its hand upon their owner and death was near at hand. Even to this day when information is sought on such points the men of the village will answer, "The old people know about that—we are but children." The power and influence so possessed were often used well. Garden and other duties were taught thoroughly to the young people, habits of industry were impressed upon them, obedience was demanded and in times of emergency and danger united action was secured.

This subordination of the young to the old was perfectly compatible with a certain amount of freedom, to call it by no stronger term, conceded to the boys. These lived a life in the village in which their hand was against every man. Their fathers or elder brothers would give them a share in the food but keep from them anything that was tasty. They would accordingly supply their own needs by stealing from the gardens or houses, going into the bush to cook the food so

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obtained. In this way the qualities of cunning and deceit were developed and the boys became expert thieves. They were probably careful to confine their thefts to things owned by their own family, regarding it as lawful self-protection.

This confined village life, in addition to training its members in obedience and respect to age, a submission largely born of ignorance, developed other qualities, which have stamped themselves upon the character. A strong tendency to exclusiveness is the most marked. Nothing was borrowed from outside, except, perhaps, new dances. Methods of cultivation, house-building and canoe-making would never be changed. "What was good enough for our fathers is good enough for us;" and to this day villagers will persist in growing the same food in the same way as formerly. This involves a yearly famine season of two or three months owing to a refusal to introduce other vegetable foods the cultivation of which would save the necessity of this severe discipline. Such a life too bred suspicion and secretiveness. It is very hard to get the entire confidence of a Papuan. A question asked will not provoke a speedy answer. A whole array of suspicious thoughts is introduced into the native mind—"What does he really want?" "How will it affect me?" Also if cupidity is aroused, "What answer will please him and make him generous towards me?" There was a remarkable instance of this suspicion in a native who met for the first time one of the mission staff in a visit paid to the mountains. To insure good will a small present was given to the hill-man; but not long afterwards he was seen following up the mission party to return the gift for fear that it created some obligation, by which the benefactor, and not himself, would be the gainer.

The narrow, confined life of the village also fostered

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conceit. The untravelled native is convinced that nothing that he does can be improved upon. He will boast of deeds of prowess that were never before equalled. He will be shown better weapons, better canoes, better ornaments made by other tribes, but he will not acknowledge that he has anything to learn. Even the advent of the missionary and the trader has in a measure increased this self-satisfaction. "Why do they come here if it is not because our land is rich and theirs is poor? They want our food, they need our help in their plantations or on their boats." They also see many deficiencies in the foreigner. "He does not grow his own food, he gets it sent to him in boxes. He does not speak our language or understand our customs."

In dealing with the internal life of these village communities reference must be made to that social system known as Totemism by which the villagers are organized into clans or septs. Fellow-membership in a clan constitutes practically a blood relationship. The clans have their Totem sign or signs, a bird, an animal, a fish, an insect, even things inanimate—a tree, a stone, a mountain—sometimes two or three of these. The sign is thought to contain the spirit of the common ancestor. The clans are named after places and the native explains that his bird came from such and such a direction, such ideas enshrining the traditions of tribal migration. The system is matriarchal—a boy belongs to his mother's clan and the ownership of him lies not with his father but with his mother's eldest brother. Socially Totemism is strong. Intermarriage with one whose totem sign is the same would be regarded as abhorrent though the parties might belong to villages separated by long distances. A sure way of promoting a breach of the peace would be to slay a man's totem and to carry it, whether it be wallaby or pigeon or fish, ostentatiously past his house.

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If a man were to partake of his own totem he would break out into sores and eruptions, so it was feared, and die a miserable death. The belief in this system led men at times to grasp at the truth of a particular Providence. Warriors, before a raiding expedition, would beseech their totem sign to grant them success over their foes. Men, before hunting, would act similarly. Even now the belief will be utilized by the native against his white employer to frustrate the latter's skill with the gun and ensure the escape of some pigeon or quail or wild-duck.

It is not too much to say that the whole social life of the native is regulated by this system. His father's relations are far removed from him. With them he may intermarry, for they do not belong to his clan. His own father is so lightly connected with him that his promise does not bind the son. On the other hand relationships on the mother's side are so vital that first cousins are not only called brothers and sisters but, in the case of the children of the mother's elder brother or sister, they are termed "fathers and mothers," often qualified by the epithet "little," and a lad may speak of his "little father" or his "little mother" though these individuals may be in point of age younger than himself.

All social duties are performed for a man by the members of his clan. They teach him his obligations when alive and are responsible for his performance of them. They will be his grave-diggers when he dies. His grave will be dug longitudinally in the direction of his clan's original village, the spot whence his ancestors migrated, and he is buried with his feet towards it. He thus—and the custom of doubling up the body and putting it in a sitting position gives force to it—faces the home of the ancestors, and no doubt the belief follows that his spirit seeks the same spot in its escape from the body. In one district this system is so strong that the

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first question asked of visitors and strangers when they arrive is, "What is the name of your bird? What is the name of your fish?" If the visitor names one, which is the emblem of his questioner he is welcomed and hospitably entertained as long as he chooses to stay in that district.

What a strong corrective to the attitude of exclusiveness and suspicion this system supplied can be at once realized and even within the village it had most excellent effects. It prevented marriages within degrees that are sanctioned by more advanced races often to their detriment; it united men in brotherhoods which, while exacting strict and onerous duties, afforded help and protection to their youngest and weakest members. The clan relationship involved common ownership in gardens, tools, and ornaments. Even wives in the old days were exchanged for brief periods and such evidence as exists for group marriage seems to place it on this basis.

This may suffice for a summary of the internal life of the village community as it existed amongst the Papuans. It was very largely complete in itself. It had its carver, its rain-maker, its doctor—and no one would think of interfering with such offices, which descended on family lines. It had no recognized head, age and experience placing men in the front. It was essentially a community life and on the lines of clan relationships, a communistic life. Every one had his share in common duties, and a voice in the shaping of common policy. Its exclusiveness tended to produce secretiveness, suspicion, and conceit. Its public opinion was too formidable a force to flout or brave. Thus it tended to destroy individuality, to produce an inordinate fear of being peculiar, to make men terribly afraid of ridicule. Yet this public opinion, represented by the old men who alone knew thoroughly the old customs and consequently heightened and

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strengthened by the sanction of religion or superstition, as it may be variously called, ensured strict discipline in what might so easily become a lawless community. It bound men so closely to their village homes that to this day "my land or country" means to a Papuan, not New Guinea, but the limited area of his coastal or mountain village. One of the things that a missionary never ceases to think strange is the native way of describing the mission station with its half-dozen dwelling-houses, a church, and a school, as "your village."

But the village community with all its exclusive isolation had distinct relations to the outside world. It was at any moment liable to attack. It also needed to supply by trading its own deficiencies. Much that will now be written may seem to contradict the impressions left by the preceding pages. This is inevitable in writing upon a race so inconsistent and illogical, so full of contradictions and anomalies, as the Papuan. Every statement as to racial practices and characteristics has to be qualified by another statement that seems to negative it. It is a child-race and a child can be at different moments submissive yet passionately unrestrained, alternately selfish and lavishly affectionate, restless and still.[1] This explanation must be borne in mind throughout.

The Papuan is a born trader. The need of barter and exchange was the one thing which in the old days brought him willingly outside his village boundaries. His needs were few and simple yet needs there were. One village required baked clay cooking-pots and only certain districts could supply these. Other villages had an abundance of native sago which might be exchanged for them. The native razor, obsidian, is only to be found in some parts, the green jade stone for axes and adzes in others. Some have the bamboo of which native knives

[1] "East and West," vol. i. p. 68.

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and combs are made; others have the grasses in special demand for women's dresses which can be made gorgeous and many hued if the material for such colours can also be obtained. Spears, garden tools, betel-nut, armlets, waist-belts, cassowary plumes, native cloth, bones for lime sticks—all can be obtained in a specially desired form from certain localities which to this extent become famous. Consequently even in the most exclusive days, trading expeditions would be organized along the coast. Near villages would often be bitterly hostile to each other and tribes of peculiar strength and audacity would sweep the coast-line for forty and fifty miles, yet on the other hand this or that tribe would maintain friendly relations with another separated from it by a wide stretch of coast. In some cases no doubt such visits were a return to the tribe's original home, for attacks from without, or scarcity of food, would at times compel a community to divide itself and half the population would travel up or down the coast and seek a new home, where life would be more secure and food more plentiful. The ties would never be severed. In fact, sometimes those that had remained in the old district would migrate to the new. More often the connection would be kept up by trading and intermarriage and the missionary will find dialects spoken at villages twenty miles apart—quite different ones being used by the villages in between—these other dialects, in their turn, reappearing as his travels extend further.

Communities therefore which were forced to supply certain needs from outside would undertake trading expeditions to their own kinsmen at a distance or with friendly tribes bound to them by the tie of self-interest. These expeditions were fraught with considerable danger and many a time the cooking-pots, obsidian, food, or ornaments were purchased at the terrible cost of wives made widows and children fatherless.

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The village community was brought into relations with the outside world not only willingly in its desire to supply its needs by trading but often involuntarily when attacked by outside foes. It must be realized that this warfare was a very desultory thing. There was no proclamation of hostilities or armies drawn up in battle array. As a rule coast and hill men were at deadly enmity and attacks on each other were frequent. The expedition was made at night, and just before dawn the blow was struck. Torches were thrown into the leaf-houses or on to the grass roofs the people scared out of their sleep rushing out and being clubbed or speared by their foes. Those who escaped made for the tree-houses for safety. The village was soon deserted and the bodies of the slain thrown on to the smoking beams and rafters of the burnt houses were cooked and eaten. These were feuds that were never pacified. Neither party would venture into the other's territory except from evil intent. The attacks were generally proposed by some villager "whose stomach throbbed to kill some one" because he desired the admiration of the women and girls for his prowess or was eager to obtain the right to wear the feathers or other ornaments which distinguished the man who had slain his foe in battle.

But apart from these undying enmities there were the occasional quarrels of villages near to one another on the coast which at other times were friendly and would exchange commodities. Very trifling causes availed with an excitable, passionate people, reckless of the value of human life, to precipitate strife. Insults to or assaults on women were a frequent cause; friendly feasts led to bloodshed, because the one party accused the other of meanness in the amount or quality of the food supplied. Thefts from gardens, an intermarriage between the villages leading to the woman being teased in her

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new home and calling on her relatives to take her part, quarrels over the exchange of goods, false reports as to the supposed evil intentions of one or other party—anything or nothing was sufficient to incite a suspicious and excitable people to hostilities. A third class of conflicts consisted in the raids by tribes against people along the coast weaker than themselves or offering special inducements for attack. The following account of a battle between the Maisins of Collingwood Bay and the Are of Cape Vogel was written down as described a few years after the event by a Maisin who had taken part in it. It gives a very vivid account of this kind of native warfare:—

"The Maisins came along with a great number of canoes with poling sticks and paddles when some man or other caught sight of them. He called out: 'The enemy! The enemy!' and the Are blew the conch shells and came down to the beach. They tied the bundles of spears. They came down from their houses. The Maisins came along in great numbers. They landed, threw their spears, and the spears fell and fell. One Maisin was speared and they shouted, 'Akakaiya! Akakaiya!' They speared him and he fell. They laid hold of him. The rest ran. They chased them then came back and carried the dead man. They put him down where the women were and the weeping was sobbed out. They roasted and ate him and they danced and danced till morning—the dance of victory. The Maisins said: 'Let us go up again and take our revenge.' They went up in great numbers again and the Are people said: 'Why are you staying about your houses? The Maisins have landed.' All the Are people went down. They came closer to the Maisins. They went down into the sea. The Maisins came up again into the bush. The Are speared another Maisin. They carried



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him off, and the Maisins sat down, and the Are people threw their spears. The Maisins caught their spears and turned them on one side. The Maisins said: 'You are looking in the wrong direction and are missing the men.' Then the Are men sat down. One of them was speared. The Maisins called out, 'Akakaiya,' and they killed him. The Are said: 'The Maisins are hitting us. You should run.' They ran on and on at the Maisins and chased them. Then the Maisins made a stand and chased the Are. They chased them and chased them and chased them and they did not stop till they got to Tariapuna. Then one of the Are people said: 'Make a stand! Why should they chase us like this? They are coming along. Wait for them. While we keep running, we keep dying.' They stood and sang their song. The Maisins carried off their dead and fled. 'The Are will spear us.' The Maisins ran and ran and ran to Nadeguba. One man was chased down into the sea. They followed him and speared him. They drew him to land. They chased and chased the Maisins, who said to each other: 'Look how they are chasing us, and how they are hitting and spearing us. The hawk's leg is firm fixed.' The Are carried the dead man. The Are stood and did not run at all. They threw their spears. The Maisins were then the bold ones, and chased the Are back again. The Are made another stand and the Maisins speared an Are man. They cut his head off with a broad-bladed spear, and took away the head. The Maisins ran and ran and ran till they got to their canoes. They danced and sang the songs of victory on their canoes. They commenced their journey. Some of their clubs were buried, some were thrown into the sea; a few were left. The songs of the wives were changed into sobs of grief for they were made widows."

From this account of a native battle it will be possible

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to appreciate the Papuan as a warrior. He does not display the European form of courage and rush into a forlorn hope, selling his life as dearly as possible. But this is a Western idea and the Papuan is essentially Eastern in thought and characteristics. He prefers to gain his end secretly. He does not fight in the open. But many instances of undoubted courage can be given. A woman was speared in the back by mountain-men as she was working in her garden and the foe planted his foot upon her and shook his spear in defiance. One of her tribe ran up and drove the man back. He thus released the woman and sent her to the village to be treated. He then pursued his foe, captured his shield and spear, and would have caught him but other mountain-men appeared and he was forced to retreat. It should be realized that to pursue a foe through thick grass or scrub, in which numerous enemies may be lying in wait, needs no little courage. In another instance some hill-men came down to the coast and established themselves in a deserted house. There they were surrounded by the coast-men in the dark and as each came to the door of the house at daybreak he was speared. At last one alone remained. He defended himself for long. He caught the spears in his shield, and when some entered his legs or arms, he would go inside, pull them out and pile them up on the floor, saying, "If I die quickly I shall be forgotten, but if I fight long my people will remember my name, and I shall not be forgotten." Those who accuse the Papuan of want of courage may perhaps feel less confident of their opinion when they read this incident which comes from Dr. Lawes. Two young children were playing on the reef and both climbed together a pole when a big crocodile took them in its huge jaws and dived into deep water. Canoes were soon in full chase, and when the crocodile came up the men struck

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it over the head with poles. It dropped one child, and a native immediately dived and brought him up—dead, of course. Then the monster came up again close to a canoe from which a man caught the remaining child by the arm. The crocodile would not let go neither would the man, so he jumped overboard and went down with child and crocodile. He presently appeared safe and sound with the child in his arms. He was in no way related to the child.

Fighting was in most cases followed by cannibal feasts. To many this marks the lowest depth of degradation. But it should be realized that the leaders in warfare were the leaders in what followed. No practice is so quickly relinquished on the advent of the European. A native, who has taken his share in such a feast, never cares to speak about it and many such have developed into sincerely religious men and even become mission teachers. The practice may be traced to different motives Undoubtedly the food was considered rich and dainty. "Very good, far better than pork," is a reason given. "We men live well, therefore our flesh is good," was said to a missionary in Collingwood Bay. But the practice of consuming the bodies of slain foes was not universal in that district. It was largely an act of retaliation. If in a previous encounter they had been able to recover the bodies of their slain they likewise left the enemy's dead unmolested. Not to find a friend's dead body was regarded as a proof that it had been consumed and retaliation was the law by which they were guided. In another district cannibalism was practised to show particular insult to particular people; in another still to gain the virtues of the dead man. Probably the most common motive lay in a desire to triumph over the vanquished foe accompanied by an enjoyment of the particular diet. For the native lives

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mainly on vegetable food and meat only occasionally falls to his lot. This is an unsavoury subject but it could hardly be passed over without reference. It is one of which less and less will be heard as mission work extends for as has been well said, "Cannibalism very soon sneaks out at the back door when Christianity has entered at the front."[1] In mitigation of harsh judgments on the Papuan it should be known that within the memory of some still living, an Italian living in the Solomon Islands became a confirmed cannibal.[2]

A village community in spite of its exclusiveness was thus brought into relations with the outside world owing to a double necessity: it had to supply its needs by trading and to protect itself against attack. The race type was affected by both these facts. One of these necessities has ceased with the spread of British rule and missionary influence. Fighting over the greater part of British New Guinea has given place to peace and security of life and property. It will be easy to appreciate the gain. Yet there are distinct losses. The people were bound together in close ties by common danger and common interest. There was a great deal of work to be done in keeping up a supply of weapons of war. Spears must be kept sharpened, slings made, and sling-stones ground down, the palisading kept in order, and there were many other incidental ways of necessary employment. But most of all it had its great moral effect in that every man had to be ready to fight and protect the community. There can be no doubt that, in spite of the evil connected with a rude state of society such as existed in New Guinea, the fighting, the retaliatory expeditions, produced certain qualities of a high moral value.

[1] Dr. McFarlane, "Among the Cannibals," p. 109.

[2] H. H. Romilly, "From my Verandah in New Guinea," p. 70.

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## CHAPTER II

### Characteristics of the Papuan

(1) A religious system—Spirit-world—Sorcery—Incantations—Personal immortality — Retaliation — Propitiatory sacrifice; (2) Weaknesses — Impurity — Untruthfulness — Callousness; (3) Virtues — Generosity — Domestic affections — Patience — Sense of justice.

It will be necessary now to look a little more closely at the Papuan and get an insight into his nature so as to fully appreciate his racial characteristics.

How far can traces be discovered of anything that may be called a religion? In the first place the Papuan lives in daily and hourly realization of an immaterial world in which he believes intensely. He peoples it with invisible beings, he knows himself to be at the mercy of personal influences far stronger than himself. It is usual to say that he regards all these spirits as evil. This needs some qualification. He may seem chiefly concerned with these evil powers because he is anxious to avert their hostility. The good, he may argue, need no gifts for they do not desire to do him harm. This may account for so little reference to them. There are traces of a belief in Providence as has already been mentioned. Again the supernatural beings who, Atlas-like, bear up the universe are beneficent. True, they often tire for the rising tide marks the time when they seek repose, the falling tide the resumption of their burden. There is, too, a belief that a man is protected by good powers and herein

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lies the diabolical wickedness of the white man's gun, which first makes a great noise to drive away the victim's protecting spirits and then discharges a missile which lays him low. Many native legends tell of superhuman beings who have destroyed monsters and wrought deliverance for man—none is greater than he who taught the use of the domestic pig for feasts and sacrifices. Of him more anon.

The Papuan believes intensely in a spirit world. Among the mountain tribes are to be found the most definite, clear-cut beliefs. There Nature lends her aid to deepen awe in the mysterious unknown. The lofty peaks which surround men; the more local rains and winds they experience; the dread of avalanche or fire in their hemmed-in settlements; the strange, weird night-roar of the turbulent torrent many hundred feet below;—all these, foreign to the coast dwellers, are the daily and nightly surroundings of the hillmen.

So from the mountains come the sorcerers and enchanters, the medicine men and those who claim power over wind and rain. Talismans, philtres, charms, even medicinal herbs, are drawn very largely thence and the cessation of strife between coast and mountain led at once to a great development of this trade in superstitions. The spirits in whom the Papuan believes so firmly are of many kinds. One class specially feared by the men are the disembodied spirits of sleeping women which they by sorcery have expelled from their bodies. A man is therefore never quite secure even with the partner of his joys and griefs. There is an instance well known to the mission in which a man called his wife "New Guinea," because he had heard the missionaries say that "New Guinea" made them ill when fever laid them low and the word to the native's mind could only mean "witch," for to witches and sorcerers all ills are traced. This dangerous

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power that the women are supposed to possess does not make home-life any the happier. A man for instance sitting in his house and hearing his dog bark outside, thinks that his wife's spirit means mischief and will hastily shut himself in and try to profit by his dog's warning. The most comprehensive word for spirits includes those enshrined in the totem emblems already referred to and a large class of beings, such as ogres, giants, dwarfs, trolls. The disembodied spirits of men haunt the places where they dwelt when alive. A species of night-bird with a very weird cry is supposed to be the spirit of a warrior killed in battle. At night the spirits are especially active. Few will go alone near a burial ground after the sun has set. Dangers beset the man from all sides. His crops may fail, the wind blow down his house, his child sicken and die. To him it is evident that some evil influence has been at work, and made him the object of its malevolence. But these spirits are very much under the control of human beings. If the spirits are spiteful and bad human beings must be worse, for they set the influences in motion which cause the trouble. So the man tries to find out his enemy. He can always rely on the help of a sorcerer if he is able and willing to reward him sufficiently. The sorcerers were, in the olden days the cause of nearly all the feuds and they are still believed in. They never profess themselves ignorant of anything on which information is sought. Even in the grim presence of the Government officer a man will brave all consequences and claim to have brought about some death or disaster rather than acknowledge in the hearing of the villagers that his charms are without power. At the time of sickness and death his services were in special request. No death can be from natural causes. It is the work of a foe. Some hair has been cut from the victim's head and obtained by his enemy,

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or he has unguardedly left undestroyed the remains of a meal. He has put a weapon into the hand of the sorcerer which will be used against him. This man may work in many ways. A common plan is to bury a charm in the victim's path, leaving a little bit above ground for the man's foot to touch and the mischief has been wrought because the unfortunate, who is the object of such attention, is always carefully informed of the fact and the fright that follows has, in many instances, caused death. It is wonderful what a large stock-in-trade a well-esteemed sorcerer possesses. All these articles have been on various occasions in use: stones, shells, fish-bones, leaves, roots, scented bark, ginger, a carved wooden image, seeds, even pigs' and wallabies' eyelashes! The whole would be carried in a string bag or wrapped up in larger leaves, or even since civilization reached the land, preserved in a red-coloured pocket-handkerchief. The fear instilled into men is very terrible. One of the saddest sights to be seen in New Guinea is some poor sufferer, "whose stomach the evil spirits have taken away," forced to live in a little annexe to a native house not much bigger than a dog-kennel, given a sufficiency of food, but feared and shunned rather than pitied because he was the victim of some malevolent influence. Superstitious belief controls every act of importance in native life. Yet there are ways of averting the evil. Sir William MacGregor relates how he was made immune for the night at a place where he camped: "A high priest went round my tent wearing a dress shirt, which he always put on in the reversed position, blowing chewed aromatic bark and saliva all about my habitation; then he went at a rapid walk all about the camp or village besprinkling the place from his mouth."[1]

Evil influences may be averted by 'propitiatory

[1] Government Report, B. N. G. 1892-3, p. 50.

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offerings. Dancing of a violently energetic kind, accompanied by noisy shouts and songs and uncouth gestures, has the same effect—also curses and imprecations. The spirits are not always regarded as possessing a high order of intelligence for a man by changing the position of a door will expect to keep them out of his house. The sick will ascribe their sores and swellings to the bite of an evil spirit, giving most exact and graphic details as to the nip they felt. A man with a toe short on one foot will tell how the wicked one bit it off. The powers possessed by these unseen beings are in some places ascribed also to the sorcerer who can disappear into and travel through the ground when on his way to bewitch a person.

No death can be regarded as resulting from natural causes. A man can only die in two ways: slain in battle or bewitched. To die in battle was regarded as a fault to such an extent that the man's spirit was punished in the nether regions by having to take its food standing. In fact it might never sit down and rest. To be bewitched involved the man's near relatives in the obligation to avenge his life. His murderer could be discovered in various ways. In one place the horrid custom was to expose the dead body on a platform in the centre of the village, allot its various portions to some tribe, family, or individual, watch the epidermis peel and discover the source of the evil according to the particular part of the body where this first took place. A custom at Cape Vogel which has now ceased under mission influence sought the sorcerer in another way. A man was carried to his grave on a bier by four friends. At a little distance round the bier stood twenty men armed with spears. At the side was one of the village sorcerers carrying a number of small sticks. With one of these he struck the corpse saying twice,

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"Who caused you to die? Did So-and-so?" The circle of them repeated the words, at the same time aiming their spears at the corpse. If there was no answer that stick was dropped and the ceremony repeated again and again, each time with a fresh stick, until the affirmative answer was given by the corpse shaking the bier. The dead man's friends would then seek to avenge his death by killing the sorcerer named or one of his tribe.

The sorcerer's lot was therefore not without danger. He could exact large rewards for his services but he made some bitter enemies, though in many cases he could excuse himself and betray his client. On one occasion the whole village rose against a sorcerer and disembowelled him. The establishment of the village policeman has greatly spoilt the sorcery business. In one instance it did more, for when the policeman arrested a sorcerer for "compassing a man's death," and was in some doubt whether he could keep him secure until the magistrate arrived, he went to the extreme length of tying his prisoner up, putting him on board a canoe and dropping him with a stone round his neck into the river.

To the Papuan, then, the world is full of spiritual influences though he has to be ever on his guard against their machinations. To protect himself he will resort to any form of superstitious practice because such usages are the only weapons with which he can defend himself. He thus becomes the prey of a class which lives by the ill-will of men one towards another and by presents of food, weapons, ornaments and other gifts, he keeps these sorcerers in affluence and helps to maintain their dignity and importance.

It will here be necessary to mention the practice of incantations which, though used by sorcerers before any

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performance of their art, are by no means confined to them. These incantations are a very prominent feature in native life. Every person, food, animal, occupation, and amusement has its "pari."[1] These must be used or results cannot be looked for. Some forms can be bought from their owners who are usually the old men of the village. Some are hereditary possessions and bestow upon the possessor a distinct office. The rain-maker, the wind-raiser, the man or woman who knows how to make the water flow in the irrigation trench—these are positions which no one can buy or usurp. The owner of a "pari" will wait until he is near death before initiating his son, nephew, or daughter. A formula is even repeated over the dead body that the man may know it in the spirit world.

These incantations often mean nothing and are not always repeated audibly. Yet though the result is ascribed directly to them there is no doubt an association in the native mind between the person who recites and the "pari" recited. The proper person must be brought, even though it is the incantation which effects the result. These incantations are not addressed to any person or spirit. They are closely bound up with the system of superstition just described. To "utter a 'pari' to a person's face" is equivalent to casting a spell upon him and so the "pari" utterer is not far removed from the sorcerer. Nature yields obedience to these powers. The setting of the sun may be hastened or delayed by certain processes. The rain-makers are supposed to know incantations which will produce either rain or lightning which latter they can direct against those they dislike. At the present time the state of transition is very marked in relation to the efficiency

[1] This word, meaning the heathen incantation, has been taken by the mission for "prayer," and so consecrated.

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of "pari." The strong conservative desire to preserve all native customs came out in the explanation given of the luxuriance of certain native crops in a mountain district by a coast-man who disliked the foreigner's ways. "Here the crops are good. There is no Sunday rest, no school, no Government duties; the people have time to say the 'pari,' and the food is plentiful." Another attitude is that of the man, who would not give himself wholly to the one life or the other. "I have both the New Guinea and the Christian 'pari' in my heart." The third stage is that of the woman who said, "I need not teach my daughter the New Guinea 'pari' to use in the food gardens, she has the Christian 'pari' in her heart." The belief that unseen powers guide and rule men's lives is not far off when these facts are kept in view. Man feels his weakness and needs external aid to sustain him in his journey through life.

One feature of this keen realization of the spirit world is the belief in personal immortality and the future life. This seems to be the ineradicable possession of the human heart in one form or another. A man's body is laid in the earth but "he" goes to the unseen world. In Goodenough Bay, the district chiefly under review, the part that goes forth is the "konaga," a term applied to the reflection seen in the eye of a living man. When he dies and the eye glazes this reflection is no longer seen. It has gone to the nether regions. The man when dead is spoken of as the "konaga;" occasionally before burial the corpse will be so termed but no "konaga" is ever buried. It has gone forth to another life, and there it is occupied in the same habits and pursuits and interests as on earth. After a period which is never defined, the "konaga" dies and becomes a spirit, goes into the sea and feeds on the foam. There he remains for ever.

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The man never dies. He will need food for his journey so this is placed upon his grave. He will require it when he revisits, as he is expected to do, the haunts familiar to him in life, so the food is renewed. He will come back to hunt, so spears are placed there too. On the other hand, he is able to cook his own food in the nether regions, for the smoke of the volcano, Mount Victory in Collingwood Bay, often elicits the remark, "There are the dead cooking their food."

The belief in immortality is universal, though the details vary and even contradict one another. Sir William MacGregor has stated: "Married couples in some cases where jealousy exists, to make sure in the case of one dying before the other that the survivor may not marry again, threaten to return in the spirit and work all kinds of ill. This does not prevent them always from marrying again but it proves that the idea of a future state of existence is strongly imbued in their nature." [1]

A sight not unknown to any one who has resided in New Guinea is the widow of one lately laid to rest prostrate on the new-made grave, calling passionately upon the departed by name, and holding a long and animated conversation with him until she is silenced by physical exhaustion.

The following is the native legend, in Goodenough Bay, of "The Man who visited the Unseen World," and expresses the local belief as to the life beyond the grave:—

"A man was walking along the beach, and heard his name called. He looked up and saw his dead wife in a tree. It was her spirit and she said, 'Tie up your dog or it will bite me.' So he tied it up and carried it. Then she led him for two days till they came to a big hole in the hill and they went in and walked for another day.

[1] Government Report, B. N. G., 1893–4, p. 76.

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Then she said, 'Tie up your dog and leave it here.' He did so. 'Otherwise,' she said, 'you will never come back and we should never reunite again.' So he then came to the place and saw all the people working at their gardens. At sunset they fell to pieces and became invisible. At dawn their limbs reunited once more and the man came away and got back safely again to his village with his dog."

A hint at transmigration of souls is contained in a belief which comes from the hills above Goodenough Bay. There the child's spirit does not enter him until he is able to speak or gains intelligence. Others put it differently. He has an uninstructed vaporous soul which is in danger of being lost. Or the spirit of an ancestor may seek to enter into some new-born member of his line to its detriment. At any rate the right spirit has to be got into the child and the wrong one kept out and charms and exorcisms are employed for this purpose. When a very young child has convulsions, or cries continually, the parents may be heard calling to the wandering spirit. Again when a baby is carried along a path for the first time the father walks some little distance behind and throws down bundles of leaves. This is to avoid the danger of the spirit not finding the path, for then the child would never be able to speak.

The idea of sacrifice and propitiation is not absent from the Papuan mind, though it is not very prominent. Over a very large stretch of coast the practice of dedicating each new house for the community and each new fighting canoe by human sacrifice was customary. The lamented but glorious death of James Chalmers and his companions in 1901 has been ascribed to the fact that they were the first suitable victims that arrived after the building of one of these houses, for they were massacred just as they got inside. An instance of belief in the efficacy of human

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sacrifice in the past is shown by a legend dealing with the erection of a house. The builder could not lift a particularly heavy post into the hole dug for it. He killed a dog and laid it in the hole, but still the post resisted his efforts. Then he sacrificed a pig, with the same lack of result. At last he seized a child, and killing it, laid it in the hole. This time he was successful. The legend explains that the child belonged to another tribe and that a member of that tribe when wishing to build was given a child in return for the one killed.

This system of payment is very typical. "A life for a life" is engrained into the Papuan system, and many white men have lost their lives in payment for natives who have died or been killed while in the company of foreigners. Many of the natives, recruited in 1883–4 for the Queensland plantations, never returned and attacks on traders and others were frequent in consequence. The difficulty was at last met by the Queensland authorities sending a present of trade articles to the relatives of every native whom they were unable to return. This satisfied the people and their alarm on behalf of the departed was allayed, for the native belief is that unless compensation is made by payment or the taking of a life the spirit of the unatoned will have no rest in the unseen world.

Over the whole of the East Cape Peninsula and up to the head of Goodenough Bay the existence of a distinct religious system has lately been discovered. In 1901 a great feast was held in the hill country above Bartle Bay at which elaborate ceremonies took place, at the time puzzling and obscure. Preparations for the feast commenced a long time beforehand. It had a special name given to it from the platform on which the ceremonies took place. This great gathering apparently occurred every sixteen to twenty years. Certain dancers

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were prepared by training and fasting beforehand, and many pigs were brought in for the feast. The chief ceremony was the carrying in procession from the bush a mango tree which with great pomp and circumstance was placed in the centre of the platform. Some two thousand people were present and were exhorted to avoid making any disturbance, so that the spirits might not be angry and "the religious ceremonies" upset.

The mission party present asked to be allowed, on grounds of humanity, to shoot the pigs for the feast and this was conceded. But when it was being done the "governor of the feast" and others complained that the pigs were dying too quietly and unless they cried out "the mango tree would not hear them." This they evidently regarded as a great disaster. So one was made to squeal and the need was satisfied. The feast followed the usual course of dancing, food preparation and distribution and all that could be made out of it was that it seemed to be a kind of harvest festival, suitable enough at a time when pigs were numerous and food plentiful.

Four years elapsed before the full meaning was disclosed. A long while ago when human victims were offered Dabedabe was born. He was the only man-child; the rest of his mother's offspring were pigs. He lay in the hollow of a tree, now known as Dabedabe's tree, which has a shoot like a human teat. Dabedabe grew up and was anxious to stop human sacrifice. He heard one day that a feast was to be held at a certain place and he sent his servants to see if the victims were human beings or pigs. The servant found the victims all tied up and when he moved them they uttered human cries. Dabedabe then went to the feasters and explained the advantage of pigs, showing them a number of bones which were those of his own brothers and sisters. Thus



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he was instrumental in getting pigs substituted for human victims. In time Dabedabe died but his spirit can be passed, by ceremonies and incantations, into a mango tree selected for the purpose. This is placed, as already described, in the centre of the platform and reverence akin to worship is paid to it. It cries out for victims. Sacrifices must be offered if it would send a blessing upon the land. It must be sure that the pigs are offered. It must hear their cries, smell the burning fat, and know that the blood has been poured out. Otherwise the land will not yield her fruit, the pigs will not be productive the crops will fail, the fruit trees be barren and even the women fail to bear children.

The tree is a sacred tree; every part of it is treasured, even to the dry leaves and the dust that falls from it. No one must be without a portion, otherwise he will not be admitted to the ordinary village feast where food is exchanged and every one makes merry. What is left of the tree after this distribution is carefully treasured. It has its own special house and its guardian. At times it cries out for more victims. It demands the smell of the sacrifice. And so it is brought out and exhibited and fresh pigs are killed and those who desire to possess themselves of a leaf or twig have the opportunity afforded them. The greatest reverence is ensured in all who take a prominent part in this feast. For three months previously they abstain from boiled food, from flesh, from women and from water. The last-named prohibition prevents them washing as well as drinking water. In fact, their only drink for this period is roasted sugar-cane and cocoanut juice.

Here are all the elements of a religious system: The belief in powers more than human, the discipline of self, the incantations, the sacrifice, the propitiation, and the feast upon the victims. The words of Archbishop Benson

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are not amiss here: "A religious tone of mind, though heathen, is a better field for Christian effort than a non-religious tone of mind. . . . It is the upgrowth of many generations. The religious tone in any nation has been gradually formed in it and for any generation that we may be dealing with it is the offspring of the teaching of old traditions, conveyed by teaching and by habits early formed. . . . We ought to do our utmost to understand the religions we are to deal with. . . . It is not true that they are ordinarily wicked except by contrast. We know that there may be wickedness in and among them. . . . But we know it has been so in Christianity too. . . . We must be prepared to follow the misbeliefs and misunderstandings to their very root and origin." [1]

In investigating the nature of Papuan beliefs and superstitions great difficulties have to be encountered. The secretiveness and suspicion ingrained in the native character has to be met, and these are somewhat accentuated in days when the fear of the Government, which sets itself resolutely to put down sorcery, "the old customs," makes natives wonder if the missionary is playing the part of a "delator."

Again, when beginning his work in a new district the missionary is most anxious not to compromise the new teaching by appearing to sanction any breach of the moral law. With his feeble grasp of the language and the perplexing nature of native customs — especially dances—and in face of the laxity that prevails, the policy of non-committal seems the only possible one. Yet to stand aloof must often seem to the native mind to condemn. It may lead to the drying up of all sources of local information and the idea so quickly formed by the native that "New Guinea" spells heathenism and "evil deeds," to the missionary. If so, a check is put upon all

[1] "Life," pp. 458-9, 461.

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reference to native ways and habits in his presence. On the other hand, an ardent nature, longing to dispel from the native mind the idea that the missionary regards all local customs as in themselves wrong, and eager to separate the innocent from the impure, may without knowing it act and speak unwisely, and suggest to the native a very false conception of the purpose for which he has come amongst them. The royal road is the road of patience. The mission had been working fourteen years in Goodenough Bay before the religious system here described was at all understood; and it seems better to wait as long, and even longer, than give wrong impressions on moral questions and as the result of impatience let the Church's trumpet give an uncertain sound.

An answer has now been given to the question, "How far can traces of a religion be found amongst the Papuans?" It has been shown that he lives in a world peopled by superhuman influences, who take the closest interest, nay, constantly interfere, in all the details of his daily life. He desires to propitiate them by offerings and to avert their ill-will by employing and paying those who have the requisite power. He believes that every action of the day must be made fruitful by the use of incantations. He is prepared to offer sacrifice to secure prosperous seasons and fruitful fields. He believes that when he dies he will pass into the unseen world, preserving his individuality and neither unremembering nor unremembered, will pursue his course. What a basis is here for the building up of the Christian faith and the Christian life! True, weeds and nettles have grown round and into the foundation; there is much to be cut and cleared away. The stones will need to be reset. But a preparation there has been. The nature has been taught to look out beyond itself. It has learned deeply

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the great principle of superhuman aid and the truth, when at length presented, finds something in the native heart on which to build.

In estimating the personal characteristics of the Papuan it is again necessary to emphasize the fact that he is a child—a child with the passions of a man. He quickly passes from one mood to another. He is excitable, demonstrative in joy and grief, passionate and fickle. He lives in the present and thinks of little beyond the limits of the passing day; also he is essentially Eastern in thought and ways and must not be measured by Western standards.

His special weaknesses, from a Christian point of view, are impurity, untruthfulness and a callousness in giving pain, especially to dumb animals.

In impurity the mission teacher finds his greatest foe. The utmost laxity prevails before marriage and after marriage a man will "throw away" his wife and take another in her place with very little concern. The temptation that assails a young Christian on this head is incessant. A lad who made a short visit to some other villages, said on his return that he was tempted to commit sin with fifteen different people; on one occasion he found his temptress lying down beside him when he awoke in the early morning. The fathers of these girls would encourage them in this—it was a mark of hospitality. The Christian teacher has so constantly to war against this sin, that the words "bad deeds" have assumed to the native mind the limited meaning of impurity. As regards sin after marriage cases of adultery are common. It is the cause of many quarrels and the Government makes it a punishable offence. But it is often hard to get evidence for the injured husband does not feel injured; he may take his revenge by committing the same offence with the paramour's wife. Group marriage is not

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unknown, and there is reason to believe that men whose wives were suckling their children had access for the time to the wives of all those of their own generation; yet native customs never failed to forbid men having intercourse with women of their own sept or clan. Christian teaching has practically killed this practice of group marriage, even though its widespread existence was only discovered after its extinction. Laxity after marriage is illustrated by an incident reported by a native teacher. He heard a man jeering at another and giving as evidence of his own superiority the fact that he had frequently changed his wives while the other had kept entirely to one. This case shows that laxity though very common was not universal. The fight with impurity is the hardest that the Christian teacher has to wage, but that it is waged with success the true, pure lives of many native Christians, men and women, are witnesses. In the direction of purifying common talk, great improvement has taken place. Obscene words were not only used as forms of abuse but also of pleasantry and even of endearment. A native Christian said not long ago, "When we were children, we were told filthy stories by the older people in connection with places and things; our children will never hear them!" A moral conscience is created and the "new, clean life" comes into view.

Lying is closely connected with the sin of impurity. An offender will lie shamelessly to protect himself. He will confess what you make him aware is known to you of his misdeeds but keep back what is unknown. An amusing instance of lying after theft came out in connection with a native feast where a pig's heart was stolen, and the accused person stoutly maintained that the pig never had a heart, backing it up by the argument that a great many pigs are so constituted. It is, of course, wrong to be found out in a lie. "You told that

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lie badly" is all the rebuke a parent or a friend will utter; yet here also a conscience is being created. The sentiment "It is wrong to lie" is often on native lips and men are known to witness truthfully even to their own detriment. This weakness is thoroughly Eastern. To gain an end secretly, to use cunning not force, to avert anger rather than brave it—this seems natural and sensible to these people, and the whole experience and training of life in the olden days developed this peculiarity. The hostile tribes in the hills or along the coast, and the evil spirits all around and about them, kept the Papuan ever on the defence, ever eager to avert disaster, ever secretly thinking and scheming how to protect himself. The advent of the white man exposes him to fresh risks. These he tries to escape by using the same weapons that have often proved effectual in meeting other kinds of danger.

As regards his callousness in giving pain, it is hard to defend the Papuan. It is not fair to say that he is cruel but he certainly seems indifferent to the sufferings of others. This is most commonly exemplified in these days of peace by his habit of giving pain to animals. He will snare a bird, or net a wallaby or wild pig, and break its wings or legs to prevent it escaping. The Tugeri in the west used to break the arms and legs of their prisoners so that they should not fight or run away. Men will prepare a pig for a feast by breaking all its front teeth with a stone that its flesh may be more tender after a week's fast. Pigs in the hills and elsewhere are often blinded to prevent them seeing their way to the gardens and eating the food. The children are very fond of tying butterflies, birds, or mice to a string and using them as playthings. A boy will play for an hour or more with a little furry tree-bear, letting it run all over him and fondling it; then, wearying of his play and feeling

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hungry, he will throw it alive on to the hot embers of a fire breaking its legs to prevent it getting away. It is a common sight to see an animal or bird being singed over the fire without first being killed. Probably the same was done formerly to human victims. Not that there seems any delight in torturing creatures but their pain is no concern.

On the other hand, the Papuan has many excellent qualities of heart, which only need the beautiful influence of the world's Redeemer to purify and make Christian graces.

He is generous and open-handed. He will share his food with his friends and even strangers will be invited to partake if they reach a village when food has been prepared. Give a lad a cocoanut, a biscuit, a plate of rice—he may be alone at the time and the gift may be intended as a special reward for services performed—yet he will not eat it at once. He will go to his friends and divide the food amongst them with scrupulous exactness, reserving only an equal portion for himself—a portion which he will the very next moment halve with another who unexpectedly joins the party. A not unfamiliar sight in these days is a man returning from a year's absence during which he has wearily carried rice and other loads for the miner on the goldfield, or worked on the trader's pearl-shelling, *bêche-de-mer*, or recruiting vessel. He comes back to his village with rich stores of trade tobacco, calico, tomahawks, knives, pouches, belts and mirrors. He has first to pay those who have done the work in his garden during his absence. But that is by no means the limit of his benefactions. Every one claims friendship with him and no such claim goes unrequited. At the end of a few days he has little left but a tomahawk, a calico, and a few sticks of tobacco. It is easy to say that he will at a future date make a similar

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claim on others. This may be true; but what if his fellow-villagers never follow his example of going away to work and therefore never have the opportunity of imitating his generosity? It cannot be denied that this characteristic generosity of the Papuan reminds the observer of the quality of μεγαλοπρέπεια which Aristotle commends.[1] The "munificent man" combines greatness and propriety. He chooses a befitting occasion for a large expenditure. "We must take into consideration the grandeur and *the moral effect* produced on the beholders." There is in this a strong vein of self-consciousness. It is more blessed to give than to receive because it ministers more to self-esteem, and the man magnifies himself in all eyes by giving rather than receiving benefits. While this spirit undoubtedly tinges the open-handedness of the Papuan it must not be allowed to negative it. He most generously shares with others what he possesses. It is largely the effect of what he has been trained and brought up in, viz. a communal possession of land, food, tools, and ornaments. There is a beautiful expression in the Motu district; a generous man is there described as one who "eats and looks up." He looks up to see if there is any one whom he can call to share his food. Elsewhere in the Pacific generosity is accounted the highest virtue.[2] "If a man is liberal towards his friends during life; if, when he gets a child, for instance, he gives pigs to his relations and friends—on the mother's side of the house as well as on his own—he will go to the good place and be saved. But the pigs and feasts a man gives in order to get a big name and rise in rank don't count—there is no merit in doing that."

There is great difference of opinion as to whether

[1] "Ethics," Book IV.

[2] Ambrym, New Hebrides; *vide* "Saints and Savages," Dr. Lamb, p. 220.

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a Papuan is grateful for benefits received. Numerous instances may be cited from any missionary's experience of benefits conferred upon a native leading to the recipient promptly demanding payment. A mission nurse healed a most evil-smelling sore on a native's leg and was asked by him, "How much are you going to give me? You have put ointment on me for two moons!" Yet an equal number of instances may be brought on the other side—grateful patients bringing baskets of food, natives in their villages far away from the mission station recognizing their benefactor, as he itinerates, and welcoming him with a cordial invitation to share the simple hospitality. The Papuan is not ungrateful but he has a way of introducing his main lines of thought into every day's events. One of these is the strict law of payment. For all that he does he expects some return and, if he subjects himself to a long course of treatment, he thinks that some payment for the time he has given up and the obedience he has rendered is his due. Other natives under similar circumstances possessed by the same principle but applying it differently, feel that they should pay for the medicine or ointment received and the services of the nurse or doctor rendered to them.

The Papuan, then, is marked by an open-handed, open-hearted generosity, only equalled by the lavishness of a child who in an enthusiasm of affection bestows his all upon the object of his love. It is a condition of heart that cleared of self-consciousness and improvidence and inspired by a new motive offers a fair field for the seed springing into the flower and fruit of Christian charity.

Again, the domestic affections of the Papuan are strong. Fathers and mothers are indulgent to a fault with their children. A bandage that incommodes a child is at once removed regardless of consequences. This arises from a real though misplaced sympathy.

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The discipline and punishment of children by foreign parents or teachers perplexes them. At one moment the "foreigner" is rebuking a native for ill-treating a dumb animal yet at the next he is himself punishing a child whom he seems to love for he has often fed him, and taught him and tended him in sickness! Parents have said to the mission teacher, "If you punish him my heart will be distressed!" The love of wife and child is sincere. After threatened danger a man has said, "Had I been killed, who would have looked after my wife and boy?" Brothers have come offering to be punished for those younger than themselves. Women will not leave their sick children to others and get food for themselves, even when needing it greatly. A remarkable instance of domestic affection is cited by Sir W. MacGregor from Toaripi. A small house there was owned by a married couple, a blind man about forty and the wife about thirty-five. "She appeared first with a load of firewood and food on her back, and holding the end of a stick in her right hand, by which she was leading her blind husband who held it by the other end. He had many sores and bruises, the result of knocking himself against sticks, etc., and he suffered from hydrocele. The greater portion of his face was eaten away and disfigured by lupus; the corrosion had invaded and destroyed his eyes so that he was stone-blind and unique in his ugliness and deformity. She was fearful at first that harm might be done to him but was speedily reassured on that ground. On receiving a little present of tobacco for herself, she smiled in the most devoted and affectionate manner into the fragments of her husband's face and looked with loving eyes into his ulcerated, sightless orbs. She then put him into a small canoe, seated herself in one end and paddled away. He was the most loathsome-looking husband,

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and she perhaps the most loving and devoted wife I have ever seen." [1]

It will no doubt be possible to bring on the other side many instances of lack of affection of mothers to new-born children—cases where they have thrown away their babies in order to ensure their own escape. An occasion will be remembered in Goodenough Bay when a sickly baby was left where a pig would kill it, to save the trouble of rearing it; another when the same man went off to the mountains with his mother dying in the village that he might avoid having to dig her grave. Cape Vogel was notorious not long ago for the number of cases brought before the magistrate of mothers murdering their children, though the scarcity of food in their district may account for this. But these are exceptional instances and nearly all deal with newly-born children. It is rare to find cases of mothers willing to part with their little ones even for a time. Also the cruel practice, as it seems to foreigners, of burying in their mothers' grave infants lately born, has been explained by the desire both to protect them from neglect and starvation and the community from children so ill-starred as to cause their mothers' death. On the whole, it is true to say that the family tie is a strong one, the parent has great affection for his or her child and shows it in a sincere though undemonstrative way. This characteristic it may be which causes the native to be greatly moved by pictures of our Lord on the cross. Some, as the result of this picture being shown to them with the magic-lantern, have expressed a desire to at once set off and avenge His death. It has led others to ask for teaching and the catechumenate. Good Friday and the solemn events it commemorates have found people who have been taught to enter into its meaning, keeping the day as a still and solemn one, sitting silently in little

[1] Government Report, B. N. G., 1892–3, p. 25.

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groups under the trees (a most unusual occurrence among natives), the children refusing to play, several quietly shedding tears. Their gentle, sympathetic nature is wonderfully evidenced in this way.

But perhaps the most admirable characteristic of this race and one in which the Anglo-Saxon may well confess himself greatly defective, is the Papuan's patience. His nature is even and equable. He blames little. He accepts the inevitable. He never grumbles for grumbling's sake. Complaints which cannot alter either the present or the past, never pass his lips. He is prepared to take time for anything he does. He will let other people waste his time. He starts on a journey and comes back when he has seen his friends, or satisfied his desire for a change, or finds his food supply exhausted. He does not bind himself to time and therefore is never in a hurry. Mountain people will come long journeys to the mission station or trading vessel, content to accept little pieces of tobacco in exchange for their baskets of food, often kept waiting at the white man's pleasure, and then starting on their long, steep climb under a scorching sun back to their homes in the hills, so contented, so patient, so cheerful and uncomplaining. The native laboriously produces fire by friction. His process of shaving is a training in patience. The men shave one another, picking out each hair by catching it between two vegetable threads, and never wearying in their task. The early explorers of New Guinea were puzzled to know how the disc-shaped clubs were fitted with handles. The head of basalt, an inch thick, was drilled with a hole, through which the wooden shaft was placed. One day a man in the village was found at this work. He was tapping the thick basalt with a rounded pebble, first on one side with endless blows, and then on the other. It must have been the work of days, nay weeks, till the two round holes

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met in the centre and the disc-shaped stone was perforated.

Many a native carrier and schooner-boy has followed his white master into danger—often much hardship and suffering has been his lot—but he never complains. Some are quickly frightened but are willing to be reassured by those whom they trust. Others will be cheerful in the midst of very real danger. None will ever show ill-will towards him who has involved them in so awkward a situation. He is sharing it with them, and they will remain unruffled, unexcited, without a murmur or a grumble, only uttering some remark, which shows that their thoughts are in their own village: "This is a bad place," and the inevitable is accepted. This quality, again, is Eastern. It is a constant rebuke to those who at the least emergency are hasty in word and deed, complaining at the slightest hardship and grumbling at that which no grumbling can alter. It is often, too, an eloquent sermon without words to the Christian from his unbaptized brother, and the mission teacher may gain an unexpected revelation of character which recalls to his mind nothing less than the patience and gentleness of his Divine Master and recalls it to his own shame and confusion.

This characteristic of patience has its weak side. There is a disinclination on the part of the native to do to-day what he can put off until to-morrow. "By-and-by" is an expression that soon becomes familiar to the foreigner. Some critics will say that that putting off goes further than the morrow and will accuse the Papuan of downright, incorrigible idleness. There has probably never been a more unjust charge, when levied without qualification, against a native race. While acknowledging that there are places and individuals where idleness is to be found, as among all other races, it is far truer to say that the Papuan is industrious. He must not be measured

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by Western standards. The work expended on his garden, house, canoe, fishing and hunting gear, native cloth and ornaments constitutes industry. A man snug and warm under the Equator, with nature bountifully yielding her fruit to his hand, cannot be expected to work like one who is shivering in the bleak regions of the Poles. An Anglo-Saxon, who buys his clothes, imports his food, pays others to build his house and repair his boat, is hardly the man to levy the charge of idleness against those who supply all these and other needs for themselves. A good deal of misunderstanding arises from lack of acquaintance with local conditions of work. In some districts a native rises very early, is at work in the garden soon after the sun is up, and having worked laboriously for several hours, returns to his village to sleep or rest during the hottest part of the day. Again, certain work—not by any means the most laborious—is done by the women, and when the season for the women's work comes on their husbands are off duty and may then be found for several days running in the villages, performing all kinds of necessary tasks which from the quiet way in which they are done, and the hours over which they are spread, often escape the notice of his critic. The chief fault in the native, from a white man's point of view, is really his greatest excellence. He is so simple in his habits and mode of life that he does not care to "toil and moil" for those things which other people value. He is content with his own plain living and cannot see why, at a stranger's bidding, he should leave all he loves to face hardship, unaccustomed food, a master with capricious temper, loss of liberty, and work which is often too severe for his constitution—leading to sickness and, in many cases to death. This latter fact of the inability of natives in tropical lands to do work which is not injurious to other races in different circumstances is often overlooked. The

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following strong testimony to the ill results of such treatment may here be recorded; it is the statement of a medical man: "These natives are not constituted for such hard work. Look at those 'boys' on the jetty yonder. One of them came to me with a ruptured vessel at the back of the eye; he was carrying a sack of potatoes, and suddenly went blind in that eye. Another was lifting a sack of flour and strained his back; inflammation followed and he was carried to hospital and his pelvis found to be riddled with abscesses. The sacral wedge, or keystone of the pelvic arch, had given way; there was no hope for him and he died after a few weeks of profuse suppuration. When taken to the white man's country they can't stand the long hours and the sudden changes of climate; and you know the great reproach against the trade is that it kills three or four Kanakas to one white man. Their tissues are too soft—they get consumption, come home to die and infect their fellows."[1]

The native knows his own capabilities better than his critics do; and the acres and acres of ground at the food gardens, carefully cultivated by means of wooden digging-sticks, and the clever irrigation systems in force, alone contradict most effectually the charge that he is lazy in his work.

The last characteristic of the Papuan to be dwelt upon is his sense of justice. This is very real and British rule has greatly developed it. At first the prison system perplexed the native. He was taken away from his home and his friends never expected to see him again. But they were astonished to hear that he was housed comfortably and kept well supplied with food. This was an expense they thought the Government might willingly be spared, so a large present was prepared and was brought in payment for the man's release. When this was refused

[1] Dr. Lamb, "Saints and Savages," p. 57.

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they despaired of understanding such strange ways. They know now that work has to be done by the prisoner —often laborious work—consequently the food is regarded as payment for it. This the native supposes is the Government's plan of getting its work done, just as the gold-miners, many think, are employed by the Government to go inland and bring forth the earth's treasures. The Government is just and they do not now question its right to employ in its own way both whites and natives. In the early days they were not so satisfied. For instance, a man was arrested by the policeman for spearing and killing another villager. This he thought hard for he explained, "The spear only went in a very little way."

The mission teacher may, unless he is careful, offend this innate sense of justice even in the children under his care. Talking over events which happened some years previously a youth reminded his teacher, "One day you caned me." "Surely I caned you many times," was the reply. "Yes; but this punishment was an unjust one—I had done nothing to deserve it—the others I have forgotten." The native never forgets unpaid scores. Instances of little unfairnesses which would soon pass out of the minds of others are recalled by the native and many a time talked over at night in the public sleeping-house where the unmarried men and lads reside. It is to this sense of justice, as much as to a realization of his impotence, that may be ascribed the readiness with which the native of New Guinea has yielded to law and order.

The Papuan now stands out in clear and distinct outlines. He is not a materialist. He possesses a distinct religious system, which keeps ever before his mind the unseen and the intangible. He has many excellent qualities. He is generous and open-hearted; his domestic affections



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are well developed; he is of a patient and equable temperament; he is not ungrateful though he has a way of introducing his ideas of payment into all relations with other people. To this is largely due his keen sense of justice and love of quoting precedents which he treasures up in a remarkably fresh and reliable memory. He takes little account of time but can make out a very good case for himself in rebutting the charge of laziness so freely brought against him.

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## CHAPTER III

### The Future of the Papuan

European occupation—Government—Trader—Missionary—Contribution of the Papuan race: (1) Consciousness of the unseen; (2) Simplicity of faith and life; (3) Corporate spirit; (4) Faithfulness.—Summary.

The proclamation of the British Protectorate in 1884 over a large portion of the country, followed by the assumption of sovereignty in 1888, has led to far-reaching changes, and has greatly modified native ways and habits of thought. These simple barbarians have been brought into the rushing stream of European life. They have been protected by a most humane and vigilant Government against most of the evils which have followed the incursion of white men into the islands of the Pacific. Recruiting for work outside their own country has never been sanctioned. Native rights in land have been most scrupulously respected. The Papuan is uninjured by the white man's grog, and when he is willing to leave his home and work the conditions under which he is engaged are carefully regulated. Never were nobler injunctions given to the ruler of a subject race than are contained in the Royal Instructions which guide the Administrator of British New Guinea. Clause 31 may be quoted:—[1]

"The Administrator is, to the utmost of his power, to promote religion and education among the native

[1] Dated June 8, 1888.

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inhabitants of the Possession, and he is especially to take care to protect them in their persons and in the free enjoyment of their land and other possessions, and by all lawful means to prevent and restrain all violence and injustice which may in any manner be practised or attempted against them; and he is to adopt and support such measures as may appear to him conducive to their civilization and as tend to the suppression of barbarous customs among such natives."

What have been the effects upon the native character of the barriers of exclusion being thrown down and European life entering in?

The chief result may be looked for in the relaxation of the old village discipline. The days have now gone by when a young man would not walk close to one of his elders sitting on the ground, when he would not think of interrupting their conversation, when all food was at first put before the old men that they might have their choice of it. Those who have worked for the white men come back to their villages rather contemptuous of the old customs. They show often very scanty respect for their elders who complain bitterly of the changed condition of things. A greater laxity of morals is induced in some districts, and some of the barriers which the native even in his most barbarous state set to curb and limit men's passions have been disregarded. This loss of respect is certainly to be regretted, but reverence based on ignorance was bound to be severely shaken when intelligence had full play and the belief in witchcraft and superstitions was undermined. These young men who have travelled far beyond the limits of their fathers' and grandfathers' experience, will eat their totem emblems, scorn to pay blackmail to the sorcerer, laugh at the old men's fears and be regarded as the great men of the village when

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they tell of their travels in distant regions, of the white man's strange ways, of dangers overcome and hardships endured. Some have contracted the fatal gambling habit, which leads natives to stake and lose all that they possess—clothes and tomahawks and tobacco, even their monthly wage before it comes due.

The Papuan is strong in the imitative faculties, and is quick to reproduce the gait, the language and the reckless levity which characterize so many who seek a home in a country newly opened up to trade and commerce. The "return" native is not much impressed with the white man's moral qualities. On hearing at the village service of some of the wonderful acts of power and mercy wrought by our Lord during His life on earth the story seemed too wonderful; one man was quite incredulous: "I do not believe what he says; he must be a trader, not a missionary." It must be carefully explained that all traders are not worthy of so trenchant a criticism, but the few often spoil by their untruthfulness and dishonesty the good name of the many.

It would be wrong to overlook the good results to which contact with the white employer of native labour as surely leads. The men become brighter and more intelligent; they are prompter in action, less inclined to put duties off until a later day; they work more regularly and are more reliable in their promises. They will imitate what is good in their master as well as what is bad, but many of the outward acts which they reproduce are void of meaning to them.

In the early days of the mission a returned labourer from Queensland was possessed with a sense of the great importance of "taparoro," or religious services. He had picked up very little, if any, Christian teaching but he understood the practice of Sunday observance and instituted in his district imitation services. He was a man of

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considerable force of character, and travelled long distances to hold his "taparoro." Compulsion was put on all to attend and the stick was freely used. His efforts brought him a considerable return for he levied blackmail wherever he went. Hymns and prayers as they appeared to the outsider were used, and the system was found in full swing when the missionaries landed on the north-east coast. Some time passed before they could make out the meaning of the words used. After some little trouble, one hymn was discovered to be a recitation of the names of the days of the week; another, of the numerals. The men who took a leading part in this "New Guinea taparoro" were very backward in accepting the true religion when presented to them. The one was a formal repetition of words, the other called on them to forsake sin. Here a great weakness in the native character is at once revealed. He runs a great danger of becoming a formalist. He will attend classes but is slow in giving up evil practices. Hymns attract him especially, and his hearty singing of them is quite compatible with no sort of knowledge of the meaning of the words. His own native "wela," or songs are gibberish like his incantations. A returned labourer from the Mamba River remembered some nouns of the local dialect and stringing them together made a rhyming song. On the principle of *omne ignotum pro magnifico*, this "wela" was much admired and before long was taken up universally and the village resounded with it, though no one had the least idea as to its meaning. If they were asked, they would merely remark, "Wela"—that is, "It is a song. You must not expect a meaning."

Ritual and ceremonial acts will be readily accepted and copied. Great care should be exercised on this score. The mission teacher so often takes it for granted that the outward act springs from a realization of an

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inward principle or meaning. Frequently it is a piece of pure imitation.

This tendency to be superficial is accompanied, as may be expected, by a lack of penitence. Sorrow for sin is rare indeed. A double process, it has been said, must take place amongst these people—two conversions: one from heathenism to Christianity as a system, the other from sin to God. Time must be allowed for the Christian graces to show themselves. The first generations of converts, though often full of zeal, have not altogether plucked out the weeds of heathenism. Another generation will commence, to some extent, where its predecessor leaves off and under the Holy Spirit's guidance will bear nobler and richer fruit.

One feature, which seems to be quite lacking in the Papuan "religion," is any sense of retribution in the future life. On this side of the grave their penalties are severe. Punishment promptly follows disobedience. To break a "tabu" laid on a cocoa-palm tree, or other food or fruit, involves suffering or death unless the "tabu-maker" removes the curse. The only risk a man runs after death is the failure of his relatives to fulfil their obligations to him. If the death-feasts are not given, and their food not bountifully provided, some mysterious loss threatens the departed; but his own past life is not a determining factor in his future. Christian teaching, with its clear, vigorous insistence upon personal responsibility, has greatly affected native conceptions and ideas. In many cases there is a great eagerness for Baptism from fear lest without it a man may suffer severe loss in the world to come. On the other hand, the obligation to lead clean, pure Christian lives here and now and the seriousness of post-baptismal sin, have been so emphasized that some fear the responsibility of the Christian calling. "If there was only a way of getting right away from God, I would

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not become a catechumen," was the cry of one, who was afterwards won by the Love of the Eternal and without losing his awe put away his dread.

The influence of the white invasion of New Guinea has, on the whole, benefited the Papuan. The work of the Government has been wholly for his good. It has put down raiding and cannibalism and made life and property secure. The peace which has resulted has greatly developed the trading propensities of the native. Its retributive system has strengthened and purified his innate sense of justice. Its incorruptible impartiality has done something to implant right principle in his heart. There is a power in the land, visible and tangible, that is not swayed by caprice or influenced by spells or presents —a power which he fears, yet gradually learns to respect, one that plays no little part in unifying tribes of diverse speech, hitherto without cohesion, and inspiring them with a budding sense of national consciousness. The representative of trade and commerce has contributed his share towards the progress of the native race. He has helped to break up its exclusiveness and to destroy its conceit. Many whom he has trained to work have displayed very real capacity and intelligence and have returned to their homes greatly impressed with the wonderful skill and power of the dominant race. This awakened intelligence and developed capacity have often been put to good use. Active help on the mission boats, on the one hand, and a truer understanding of mission work and purpose on the other, have resulted. The trader and miner clearly come to benefit themselves the intelligent native sees; he can also argue that the motive of the Christian teacher is different and he puts this before his friends in the long discussions that take place in the village after the sun has sunk below the distant horizon.

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That there are losses no one will deny. The moral qualities drawn forth by the old unsettled life of hourly danger were of value. The reverence and respect for age and experience were useful checks on youthful impertinence. The tendency to imitate the not very elevated characters of many of their white masters, and the superficiality which empties the outward act of its inward meaning and induces formalism, do not make for true progress. It is useless to add to the list. The white man has come to stay and those who work for his salvation as well as for that of his coloured brother, will accept and make the best of the situation, and while keenly alive to the dangers and perils that may arise will carefully treasure up all that may be consecrated to God's service and utilize it for the extension of His kingdom.

What, then, will be the contribution of this child-race to the Universal Church? What will the latter receive back from it in return for the lives consecrated to its evangelization, the treasure expended in this enterprise and the prayers offered on its behalf? What will the Universal Church receive? Far more, is the answer of faith, than it has ever given. But the children are weak and poor and sick. Can they give anything back to the great mother, the Bride of Christ, who welcomes them, even the least and the weakest and the poorest, and needs their offerings? Perhaps what has been written has given the answer; but it may be summarized and emphasized at the close.

"You missionaries," said a Government officer not long ago, "always seem to pick out the best-looking, most presentable characters." It is not difficult to explain. Those who have watched the steady growth of conscience, morality, character, goodness, know that a Power is at work in the hearts of these simple people that must lead to outward signs and proofs of its influence. The

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"glory," which these Christians will bring into the Holy City, will be qualities such as these—

In the first place, consciousness of the unseen.

The spiritual world is to the Papuan the most real world. As a Christian he has truer conceptions of its nature, and learns its harmony and beauty. God fills it with His Presence, and sends good angels to execute His Will and render service to mankind. The mission teacher is often surprised at the vividness with which spiritual verities are realized. Shortly after the death of one of the small band of mission clergy a boy sat down and quite spontaneously wrote a letter to his "dear teacher in Paradise." He told him how he was looking forward to see his face there. The death-beds of native Christians bring out how keenly conscious they are of spiritual influences. A lad who had once since his Baptism fallen into an evil native custom grieved sincerely over it when a year afterwards he was laid on a bed of sickness. One day he seemed greatly comforted and he related how he had seen the Master, whom he had crucified afresh, stand at his bedside, and had heard Him speak these words: "My child, you fell into sin for you were weak, but you have repented and I have forgiven you." It was something so real to him. He suffered greatly; his heathen mother ascribed his illness to the bite of an evil spirit, due to his attachment to the mission station. She urged him to leave it and go to the native village. But the lad's faith and resolution never wavered. The vision was clear and he passed to Paradise trusting in the Lord who had sealed his repentance with the assurance of forgiveness.

The keen realization of the event which Good Friday commemorates has been already noticed, and so it is all through the verities of the Christian Faith and the events of the Christian year. The devout and earnest native

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Christian has a real vision of spiritual things. He always believed in a world outdistancing sense and touch. The Faith of Christ has cast out its devils and repeopled it with beings who bear him no spite, hatred, or ill-will, but watch his path and his bed with loving care, and allay for ever his haunting fears.

Secondly, simplicity of faith and life.

The native of New Guinea receives Christian teaching with the most simple faith. It arouses no questionings in his mind; it corresponds to his needs; it is taught him by one he has learnt to trust and love; it demands an obedience which he desires to render. His life is simple, his habits and needs could hardly be more so. He has no social obligations to readjust or binding etiquette to bow before. His weakness of character may at times make him fail but he has the honest intention to be faithful, and he quite understands that the teaching, if he submits to it, involves the ready will to obey. The members of the Church of Papua will never be attracted by metaphysical subtleties or be tempted along the path of over-definition of the Faith. But there will be no stauncher believers in the eternal verities, and in days when the Apostles' Creed seems too definite and complete for critical intellects, the simple faith of the Christian in New Guinea is a protest against those who would recklessly "lighten the ship" in a doubtful attempt to "bring relief to burdened consciences." The Church's sick children need the comfort of a clear and undiminished Creed. It has been the instrument in the Holy Spirit's hands to rescue them from untold ignorance and degradation. It is a weapon that has helped to win great victories in the holy war, and the voice of these new-won converts to the Faith will ever be lifted in its defence. It may be that these simpler races are being gathered in at this time, in the all-seeing providence of God, for no less a purpose than this—to preserve the simplicity of the Faith.

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Theirs is the childlike acceptance of fundamental facts, not an intellectual grasp of metaphysical subtleties. The Pacific Islander has been described as having a "genius for religion." His religion will be based on a simple theology but the truths therein contained will be implicitly believed and unfalteringly held.

His simplicity of life marks him as possessing special fitness for the work of an evangelist. He travels along the coast, or up the steep hills, lightly equipped. He can start off at the shortest notice. He is capable of great endurance. He is possessed by a real desire to give his message. Here, again, a native trait has been consecrated to Christ's service. There is always great eagerness to pass on information. The news may be good or bad—that is a matter of indifference if it is "news"—and the imparting of it will rouse interest and gain credit for the bearer. The "good news" is thus borne from village to village. An opportunity for its delivery may unexpectedly present itself and will be utilized. A native Christian, who held the magistrate's permit as "shooting-boy" for the mission station, was out one Saturday afternoon looking for pigeon or wallaby, when at some distance away he came unexpectedly upon a small party from the hills on their way to the beach. At once the gun was laid aside, the people gathered round, and a simple service was offered up in that open-air cathedral, which had never before resounded to the sounds of Christian prayer and praise. This is not an isolated instance. When the native evangelists go forth on each Lord's day to proclaim their message they report on their return the results of their efforts. After recording their visits to, and services at, the villages to which they were sent, they will frequently tell how, their work done, they were seeking their homes, but here or there a group of people were found who had not had

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their "taparoro." The message was for them as for others, and be they only three or five they were not forgotten. The native Christian has seldom any difficulty in speaking in public so far as fluency of language is concerned. Few are troubled with shyness or struck with that unexpected dumbness, which many young preachers have to face. There seems an entire absence of self-consciousness in relation to their religious life. Quite naturally they will sing or pray or preach if occasion demands. The missionary finds very early in his career that a native is always ready and willing for a religious service, nor does the occasion ever seem inopportune for such an act.

In another way the Papuan Christian is well qualified as an evangelist. He has great facility in learning the new dialects, which will confront him if he journeys up the coast to a fresh district. It is much better that he should go right away from his home to teach those who are strangers to him. Leaving his beloved village is the greatest sacrifice he can make for his Master's sake. In his own district he is just his father's son—to the new one he comes as the accredited representative of the mission, and with the obvious sincerity of one who has made sacrifices for Christ. New dialects will confront him, and to the average native this presents nothing like the difficulty that it does to his white brother. Thus, perhaps, his special work is marked out for him and his gifts utilized for the spread of the kingdom.

Thirdly, the Papuan will give evidence of the corporate spirit of the Church.

It has been pointed out how completely in the olden days the individual was sunk in the community. The white incursion has tended to break up the communal life and emphasize the individual. But the old idea will always be deeply imbedded in the native mind, for

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the love of home asserts itself. The young men may "sign on" for work and leave their villages, but when they reach a certain age the great longing to "make a garden" takes hold of them and they leave their home no more. The communal system has a firm hold on village life and will remain in possession. The attitude of mind formed by it helps the Papuan Christian to grasp the truth of the Communion of Saints. Baptism into the Church is admission into a new and a great family. New ties are formed, new obligations incurred, new relationships created. "The idea of the collective responsibility of a family or tribe for the acts of an individual member of it is recognized. This produced the collective duty of the members of the tribe or family to protect the individual member from the vengeance of those whom he has injured. Often a village constable has brought in a near relative of the culprit, because he is such. It is hard to get recognized the justice of regarding only the guilty individual as answerable for his misdeeds."[1] This native trait is not destroyed by the introduction of a sense of individual responsibility. It was active and alert in certain prisoners confined some years ago in the Government gaol, and led to the following incident: "The old prisoners several times reported the intention of newer hands to make their escape. In one case they informed the authorities that a new man was trying to cut his leg-irons with a tomahawk; but before reporting this they took the law into their own hands, and beat him and cast him into a ditch for bringing discredit on the prisoners."[2]

The native Christians are taught their collective responsibility for each other. They have their special services to which they only are admitted, their times of devotion, the native anniversary to which they send

[1] Government Report, B. N. G., 1897-8, p. 69.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1898-4, p. xxvi.

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representatives, and the village council, a majority of whom they elect. In this way an ideal of Christian conduct and a healthy Christian opinion is being formed. For as part of this idea of collective responsibility the native has an enormous respect for public opinion. The community decides how to act in given circumstances, and the individual is guided accordingly. To go contrary to such a decision, or generally to act differently to the rest, is to expose himself to the most powerful weapon in the Papuan armoury—the ridicule and abuse of the old people. Few natives can stand being laughed at. The foreigner may well wonder what keeps young men dancing a wearily, monotonous dance all through the long hours of the night. At times of feasting and visits of strangers daylight may seem to come too soon. But at other times it is hard to understand how night after night is passed in this weary way. An explanation will be given. The old people would laugh at them if they stopped at midnight or at any time before dawn. They would boast how when they were young men they never tired, but, easily kept on till morning light appeared. The truest, purest courage was that shown by a native evangelist who at a time when the zeal of many Christians grew cold remained faithfully at his post. He was practically a voluntary worker, only a few pence a week being given him to avoid the necessity of journeys to the hills for food. Night after night he would ring the bell for service though no one would come. But he never failed to go into the little native church and say his Evensong alone. His friends ridiculed him; his father and mother cast him off. At last came the bitterest blow of all, when his much-loved brother who was under discipline but whom he was longing to lead back along the path of penitence to restoration to his lost privileges, gave him up. The grace of God enabled His persecuted servant to stand

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firm, till the cloud passed over and the sun shone out once more. No harder test could be devised to shake a man's resolution and constancy. The opinion of the community guides and rules the individual. This native trait will be consecrated to God's service. In each village occupied by the mission the Christian community is making its opinion felt. It feels its responsibility for all its members and seeks to shield and protect them from temptation and ridicule. The mission teachers use freely the help of the older and more experienced native Christians in deciding the many difficult questions which come before them. For the days are too young for questions of conduct to be left entirely to the individual conscience. Rules have to be laid down, and in forming those rules an intimate knowledge of native life and its difficulties is necessary. Thus gradually a Christian public opinion is formed, an ideal of Christian conduct created, and the Brotherhood in Christ endows its members with a new collective sense in place of that which is no longer a true guide to thought and action. The native Church speaks clearly, intelligently, and unitedly.

Lastly, there will be faithfulness.

With all his collectivism, the Papuan is marked by a capacity for making strong personal attachments. He may be at first suspicious, but when once that is allayed and he has learnt to trust a man, he will prove faithful to him. In nearly every district, in which the mission has commenced its work, some old native of influence has been attracted to it and has proved a true friend. In Collingwood Bay a friendship of this kind stood the mission party in good stead, for soon after their arrival, and before they had any acquaintance with the language, a proposal was made in their presence to the friendly chief by one, who was ill-disposed, to fall upon the

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foreigners and give them no quarter. The friend of the mission listened to the proposal in silence. He had but to raise his head as the sign of his consent and that would have been the signal for the massacre; but he kept his head down and the danger passed away.

This man was never brought closely under Christian influence, for within three months a mountain band raided his food gardens and when he went out to protect them he was pierced through the heart by a death-dealing spear.

Under Christian teaching and the personal influence of Christian missionaries this loyal and affectionate faithfulness has been wonderfully developed. If a trained lad is given any work to do, or entrusted with any responsible post, his one thought is to carry out to the letter his master's will. In danger he will follow one whom he trusts and will lay aside his fear. In times of privation and hardship his first concern will be that his master has not his usual food or appliances, and he will unselfishly do all in his power to make him comfortable before considering how to supply his own simple needs. Can he be inspired with a feeling of personal devotion to our Lord, as the incentive to self-sacrifice and the sustaining power under difficulties? This will depend greatly on those who have the care of his spiritual life. If *they* are so moved, they will be able to set this motive before their hearers and it will prove as strong and potent an influence in Papuan hearts as it has proved in older lands. The mission teacher must desire nothing less than to bring these men to the feet of Christ and to leave them with Him. It has not always been kept steadily in view. Missionaries are tempted at times to make this supreme purpose secondary to other interests that have taken possession of them in their new life. Explorations into the country, the study of native customs, the acquisition



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and comparision of dialects, the pursuit of natural history, are all interests that may take the place of that which has led Christ's soldier to go on his distant warfare. The value of these various objects and lines of study should not be ignored. In so far as they lead to a patient understanding of the native character, they will enable the missionary to present Christ to the heart in the way best calculated to draw out its faculties of love and faithfulness. Thus the Papuan will know Christ as his Friend and weigh His claims to a lifelong service.

Some of the last recorded words of our Lord on earth convey a promise of power which was to fit the leaders of the Christian army for a work that would test their resolution and try their faith and patience more than they themselves realized. The promise of the Personal gift of the Holy Spirit was to supply all they needed for the task. Christ's followers still require the same warning and encouragement. The future is not unfolded to them; they can only carry on their work for Him in faith and patience, and by example and teaching minister His Word and Sacraments. But they can watch the opening and expanding of hearts to the Sun of Righteousness, and note down special ways in which the Heavenly Light is caught and reflected back from erstwhile heathen hearts. The races of the vast Pacific, savage in the past, are now being transformed under Christian influence, and make up much that is lacking in the Anglo-Saxon presentation of the perfect life. They are doomed, it is freely prophesied, to pass away from the earth's surface before a hardier race. They are even now sick and dying; they are like the children living in the slums of the great cities of the modern world, whose wan, pinched faces haunt men's thoughts and stir their sympathy. Like the crippled little ones gathered into some Christian home for incurables, they

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claim their share of love and pity, and they repay it by revealing traits of character which the strong men who watch them have failed to produce.

Amongst these races the Papuan has his offering to bring, his gold and frankincense and myrrh to present on bended knee to the Lord who has a special care for the weak, the sick, and the dying. His gold is his simplicity of faith and life, which accepts the teaching of the Christian verities, and sets forth with lit lamp and girt loin to spread their influence. His frankincense is the prayers and aspirations which spring from a vivid realization of the invisible world. His myrrh is the faithfulness and self-sacrifice with which he will follow One whom he trusts and loves in scorn of consequence. These are the offerings of men who have learnt from Christ the value and worth of the individual soul, the personal responsibility of each for grace received and pardon won. Yet they have not forgotten to consecrate the great master principle of their old life, that men live in communities and are guided in thought and action by the opinions and wishes of those who are joined with them in a common life. The Christian Creed contains words which recognize this community principle, and the servants of the Crucified in distant Papua will hold it fast, and work out with it the salvation of their race.

Thus the Universal Church will receive back from these people more than the full sum of her gifts on their behalf. She will learn to preserve, whole and undefiled, the Faith once delivered to the Saints, for these island children have been won to it and love it. She will learn lessons of simplicity, to which races surfeited with luxury and indulging in every form of ease and comfort are gradually becoming strangers. She will gain inspiration from the lengthening record of lives new won from the grossest degradation, freely offered to

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the spread of the Gospel, and laid down in the service of her Head. This is no meagre return for what has been offered in one short century for the evangelization of the islands of the "Peaceful" Sea.

Is there not a message from the Papuan to inform the white race? The world of modern life is a stern battle-ground of competition, and a ceaseless struggle for existence. The race tends to harden under its influence. Then as it extends beyond white lands and reaches the rich islands of the Pacific with their balmy air and soft zephyrs, it passes as it were from the place of business to the playground and the nursery, and the hard nature, the unimpassioned spirit comes into contact with native races simple in habits, unselfish in heart and unassertive in disposition. It is as though Christ takes, as of old, a little child, and sets him in the midst and draws out lessons for the grown-up disciples. The passive virtues are wonderfully revealed in the Papuan who is growing in grace. In his gentleness, unselfishness, patience, good temper, this bright child of nature displays many of the elements that make up the Perfect Life. Will not his influence avail to melt the icy heart, and soften the stony nature of that rougher race, which has come to settle in its midst? Such a drawing out of sympathy and affection is not impossible. Many a stern, cold man has thawed under the sunny influence of a sweet unconscious child. The Papuan race arouses no racial antipathy for it in no way challenges competition with the white race. It remains in its own land ready to help in the development of the wealth which lies beneath the surface of the ground. It will furnish labour for the mines and plantations which will follow the influx of the white man, and will to a very limited extent learn the trades in which the European artisan so keenly resents competition.

If it be trained in the Christian faith, it will rise above

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the low moral standards of many white men, and will keep itself free from that intermixture of race, the incentive to which is at present all on the side of the incomers. Any plea, which is raised in the interest of the purity of the white race, can be supported still more vigorously in the interests of the native race, and the two can exist side by side and be mutually serviceable. Their interests in no way conflict, and a thrifty, industrious settler will greatly welcome the assistance of native labour ready to hand. Prejudices will never be wholly dispelled, but the work of the Church will bring white and coloured more and more into close union and agreement, and from her teaching and influence will go forth a purer, higher spirit, which will dispel suspicion, turn antipathy into friendship, and unite all the members of the body in vital union and concord. For this all men of good-will must pray and strive.

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II

# THE SPECIAL INFLUENCES WHICH THE AFRICAN OR NEGRO RACE MAY EXERCISE ON THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS OF CHRISTIANITY

By the Archbishop of the West Indies

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# THE SPECIAL INFLUENCES WHICH THE AFRICAN OR NEGRO RACE MAY EXERCISE ON THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS OF CHRISTIANITY

THE MOST REV. E. NUTTALL, D.D.,
ARCHBISHOP OF THE WEST INDIES

## CHAPTER I

### THE NEGRO RACE

What special contribution has the Negro to make to the ultimate fulness of the life of the Church?—Will the race be permanent?—Language and race division—African peoples—Their essential oneness—Negro population in Africa—In America—In the West Indies—The slave trade—The future of the Negro race in civilized countries.

IT may help to place our subject distinctively before the mind of some readers if it be stated somewhat discursively in this form:—Is there any and, if so, what part of the Divine revelation, and of man's relation as a Christian to his fellow-man and to God which the African or Negro race is specially fitted to understand and respond to, and therefore fitted to embody in character and exhibit in life and action? And is the Negro race thus capable of bringing into the Christian Church, as a Catholic, complete Christian body, features of Christian truth and life which otherwise might not find full expression therein?

It is widely accepted, either as a theory or as a fact, that various races of mankind have a peculiar aptitude for

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assimilating certain truths or special forms of truth. These appeal to their nature in a way that such phases of the truth do not appeal to others. They see them in the revelation while others do not, just as the botanist sees features in flowers and vegetation that are unnoticed by other men. If this be so, it becomes probable that there are regions of truth which would be unexplored if, for example, there were no Christians but Europeans; and that such parts of the Divine revelation will be realized, and the teachings thereof will be expounded and brought to bear on the actual spiritual life of the Church, as various Asiatic or other nations come to be Christianized, and will exercise a strong influence upon Christianity generally as the Christian religion takes hold of the life of those people on a large scale.

In this theory it is assumed that every individual race has thus its own contribution to make to the fulness and perfection of the Church's knowledge and the Church's life. When all the various races of mankind have been brought under the influence of Christianity, and have given a contribution of their own life and experience back to the Church, then will the whole truth of God as revealed to man be understood and brought out in the life of the Church, as far as it is possible for this to take place amid the necessary imperfections of the present life. The Church will, so long as it exists in this world, grow in knowledge and experience; but when all the nations of mankind have been fully brought into the Church, then all the phases of truth will be understood and incorporated and manifested in their effect in the life of the Church.

The question to be dealt with in this article is, what the black African or Negro race may contribute towards this ultimate fulness of the Church's knowledge, teaching, worship, and life.

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Will the black race persist? Will it remain and hold its own, and increase when it comes in contact with modern civilization? Or will it decay and eventually die out?

There are various backward races in the world, or, as they are sometimes called, "child races." Some of these have no future before them: they are dying. The black people of Africa, of which the Negro race is largely representative, constitute an important section of the human family. It is the general opinion that the African people will continue to exist and will increase in numbers. Certainly on a surface view the race does not show any tendency to decrease, as some races do, in the presence of the white man and under the severe tests involved in contact with modern civilization. It is generally believed that the African can live and be happy and increase, under the conditions of civilized life; though in recent years doubts have been raised as to the correctness of this opinion.

This part of the subject probably needs enlarging upon, as it has an important bearing on the main purpose of this article. If the black African people were likely to die out under the combined processes involved in the extension of modern civilization and of Christianity, then the principal question raised in this volume would have no vital interest as regards these people, because they would be effete or extinct by the time they should, on the other supposition, be making their influence felt on Christianity generally.

1. The part of our subject on which we are now seeking information is the question—Will this race be permanent? Will it persist under modern conditions and the civilizing process? But before we shall be in a position to answer that question reliably, we need to consider this other important matter, namely—Do the various sections of the black people in Africa make up a race which is

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practically homogeneous, so that what is correctly predicated of one may be predicated of all under like conditions? Are the numerous sections and tribes of the black African people simply sub-races—larger or smaller subdivisions of a people fundamentally the same, the variations in language and other characteristics having been brought about by divergent local conditions and influences operating through some thousands of years?

The variations are certainly very considerable; and the linguistic and ethnic classifications by various writers of authority vary also considerably.

(1) The question of language demands consideration in its bearing on the question of race division. The careful statements in Dr. Cust's book, "The Modern Languages of Africa," show what that writer accepts as a reliable presentation of a complicated series of facts. So far as they concern the present article, these facts may be stated as follows:—The population in Northern Africa has a large infusion of Semitic blood, or is otherwise distinct from the Negro. There is first the Semitic group, which has 10 languages and 8 dialects; and this group comprises the Northern and Ethiopic sub-groups. There is next the Hamitic group, which has 29 languages and 27 dialects, and embraces the Egyptian, Libyan, and Ethiopic sub-groups. Then there is the Nubah-Fulah group, which has 17 languages and 7 dialects. The people speaking the three groups of languages just mentioned may be considered to be so definitely distinct from the Negro proper as to be excluded from further consideration in this article; and no account is taken of the inhabitants of Madagascar, for they are reckoned as belonging to the Malayo-Polynesian family.

(2) As regards the location of those black African peoples—limited, as aforesaid—whose history we are now to consider in some detail, they may roughly be said to

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inhabit the whole of Africa, below a line drawn diagonally from 15 degrees north on the West Coast of Africa to 10 degrees north on the East Coast of Africa, and including all the country to the south except where white men have settled. Taking this line as the northern boundary, the subdivisions may be stated as follows:—The negroes proper occupy a central zone stretching from the Atlantic to the Egyptian Soudan; the Bantus occupy nearly the whole of the south, from the neighbourhood of the Equator to the Cape; and the domain of the Hottentots is the extreme south and south-west corner. But it is clear that this was not the original distribution of these various sections. As regards the languages of these people, the Negro group proper has 195 languages and 49 dialects: these include the Atlantic, Niger, Central, and Nile sub-groups. The Bantu group has 168 languages and 55 dialects, included in the Southern, Eastern, and Western sub-groups; and the Hottentot-Bushman group has 19 languages and 6 dialects. This enumeration gives a total of 438 languages and 152 dialects for the African people of the Negro family.

(3) Some writers are strongly of opinion that language is the best basis for the classification of races, and that distributions relying principally upon outward appearances, such as complexion, texture of the hair, shape of the cranium, or on mental qualities, do not supply sufficient data for a systematic grouping of the African or other races. But even these writers admit that language alone is not sufficient for the purpose, for modern science has abundantly shown that speech and race are not convertible terms; and Keane admits that "for one large section of the African family the linguistic element fails altogether."

(4) In Dr. Livingstone's accounts of his African journeys we have the views of that great missionary and

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explorer on some of the points we are now considering. He was a careful observer, and his observation extended over a wide area. According to him, the people who inhabit the central regions of Africa vary in colour considerably, from black to bronze, and occasionally to a still lighter hue. Evidence shows that heat alone does not cause blackness, but that heat and moisture combined deepen the colour. Those peoples who have continued for ages in a hot, humid district are deep black; but others, who can be clearly proved to be of the same original stock, but have lived long under different climatic conditions, are so much lighter in colour that they might be taken for a distinct people. Taking another point of view, the people near both east and west coasts are very dark; then inland, about three hundred miles from each coast, they are of a lighter colour. In estimating the closer or more remote connections between the various divisions of the race, it must be remembered that probably migrations have chiefly been from north to south. The "dialects spoken in the extreme south, whether Hottentot or Kaffir, bear a close affinity to those of the tribes living on their northern borders," and they are at once recognized to be cognate. If extreme points be taken, the recognition is more difficult; but examination of the roots of words arranged in the geographical order of dialects shows that they merge into each other.

(5) There are numerous variations of form and features among the people of Africa which may easily be mistaken as evidences of fundamental racial differences; but a minute comparison of the facts all over the continent shows that characteristic negro peculiarities are present everywhere, but all these characteristics are seldom present in one individual. The evidence, as a whole, shows the essential oneness of these African peoples; though the different conditions under which they have

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lived through many ages have introduced great varieties in speech, physical conformation, appearance, and character.

There is a multitude of tribes, and nearly every one has its own special dialect. In grammar these dialects are cognate, and in some the vocabularies vary very slightly, while in others they are distinctly different; and it often happens that those tribes which live in close proximity have more difficulty in understanding each other's language than the language of other tribes a thousand miles away. This may no doubt be accounted for by the fact that the various migrations have not been on any uniform plan, and have not taken direct courses. They have been like the windings of a river, with currents sometimes swift and sometimes slow; in some places there have been back currents, and elsewhere there has been a slow movement amounting almost to stagnation; but with all this there are manifold evidences of the family connection of all the tribes and sections of the race which we are now considering—in language, in tribal organization, in family customs, in judicial rules and regulations, in marriage ceremonies and funeral rites, and religious beliefs and practices. Keane agrees with Livingstone in the opinion that the specialized negro type, as depicted on the Egyptian monuments some thousands of years ago, has everywhere been manifested with striking uniformity, notwithstanding some considerable differences.

2. Having in view the divergences of various authorities, the best estimate which I can form of the black African population belonging to the Negro family, as already classified according to the language and race divisions, indicates how large is the preponderance of the Negro section proper in the regions I have specified as the home of the Negro race. It may be approximately stated that the African negroes proper number 150,000,000, and the Bantus 50,000,000, and perhaps the Hottentots in

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the south-west number 500,000. But it must always be remembered that this enumeration can claim to be only conjecture. There are no available data on which to form a correct estimate of the actual population of Africa. Notwithstanding the abolition of the slave trade, with its accompanying barbarities, involving much destruction of human life, tribal wars still continue in Africa to keep down population, and to interfere with any calculation which our growing knowledge of many parts of Africa might otherwise render it possible to make as to the progress of the general population. One result of the parcelling out of Africa into spheres of influence of European nations, or territories directly under their government, will be the stoppage of the inhuman loss of life through local quarrels and small tribal wars, and the establishment of general governments over wide areas, in which human life as well as commerce will be protected. The science of Europe will help to keep in check special and ordinary forms of disease, and also more reliable estimates as to the number and growth of the population will become possible. For the purposes of this article, however, the rough estimate of 200,000,000, already stated, may be taken as the number of Negro people in Africa. In the United States of America there are about 9,000,000 coloured people, who are the descendants of the negro slaves formerly imported from West Africa. In the British West Indies and Guiana there are about 1,750,000; and in the other West Indian islands and Central America about 2,250,000 more. It must, however, be borne in mind as a fact which has an important bearing on this discussion, that probably not less than one-sixth of those classed indifferently as negroes or coloured people in the United States returns are, properly speaking, coloured persons, with a larger or smaller infusion of Caucasian blood; and this is

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the case in the West Indies. These estimates may be summarized as follows: in Africa, 200,000,000; in the United States, 9,000,000; in the West Indies and Central America, 4,000,000. Total, 213,000,000. If we leave out of this total estimate those persons living in America and the West Indies and parts of Africa who have a large infusion of Caucasian blood, the black people of the Negro race in Africa and various parts of the Western hemisphere may be put down at 210,000,000. This is a large mass of human beings.

3. The following tables give as full and correct a statement of the growth of the black population in the United States and the West Indies as it has been found possible to arrive at.

The growth of the negro population in America, according to the United States census, is as follows:—

| Year. | Negro population. |
|---|---|
| 1830 | 2,328,642 |
| 1840 | 2,873,648 |
| 1850 | 3,638,808 |
| 1860 | 4,441,830 |
| 1870 | 4,880,009 |
| 1880 | 6,580,793 |
| 1890 | 7,488,788 |
| 1900 | 8,840,789 |

All through the West Indies the growth has probably been similar. As regards the countries and islands not under British rule approximate detailed figures are not available. It has not even been found possible to get comparative statements of all the British West Indies generally. But the following statistical facts for Jamaica may be taken as a fair sample of the general results throughout the British West Indies:—

There has been no census since 1891. The total to

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March 31, 1905, here given, is based on the registered births and deaths. The divisions in 1905 into the sections, white, coloured, black, and East Indians, is probably correct in view of all available facts.

| Year. | White. | Coloured. | Black. | East Indians and Chinese. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1861 | 13,816 | 81,074 | 346,374 | — | 441,264 |
| 1871 | 13,101 | 100,346 | 392,707 | — | 506,154 |
| 1881 | 14,482 | 109,946 | 444,186 | 12,240 | 580,804 |
| 1891 | 14,692 | 121,955 | 488,624 | 14,220 | 639,491 |
| 1905 | 15,000 | 150,000 | 628,568 | 12,122 | 805,690 |

4. In this article no attempt is made to distinguish between the various sections or sub-sections of the Negro and Bantu peoples. How long they have been separated into sections which have distinct characteristics, and how real the distinctions may be, is not here discussed. It may perhaps be assumed (though not without the qualifications hereafter to be considered) that there are various sections or sub-sections of these African black people who possess stronger qualities and finer developments than those West African negroes who have been brought into contact with civilizing and Christianizing influences either in Africa, America, or the West Indies—that, in fact, the stronger tribes from the interior have constantly been pushing the weaker tribes towards the coast; that the slave trade was originally largely concerned with these weaker tribes; and that, therefore, any mental, physical, and moral development which has been attained by the tribes of negroes already brought under Christian influences is such as is well within the reach of stronger specimens of the race. I think it is also true that the fundamental race qualities are sufficiently maintained and exhibited in the American, and particularly the West Indian, negro, to make it safe to accept him as a suitable



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specimen of the race for the purposes of the study which this article is pursuing. It has already been intimated that the negroes of the Southern States of America and the West Indies were originally brought from West Africa; that the more vigorous sections of the race, coming from the north and east, had constantly pressed the less robust and unorganized sections towards the sea-coast, and taken their lands; and that it seems certain that those tribes of negroes nearest the West African coast, from which the kidnapped slaves were chiefly taken, should be classed as among the weaker sections of the black people. But the following facts need to be considered in this connection, for they go a long way towards proving that the negroes brought to America and the West Indies, though drawn from the weaker sections of African black people, must have been far above the average of their own sections, and probably quite equal to the average negro in the stronger sections of the race.

Let us recollect the processes involved before they were landed in the countries of the West. There was first the raid by the African slave-hunters on some inland village or town. These hunters were warlike tribes of Africans who had none of the gentler feelings of humanity. Their operations involved much havoc, desolation of homes, and destruction of human life. When by stratagem and force they had captured the population of a village or district, they first sorted their captives, and fixed in chain-gangs those men and women and younger folks whose physical condition indicated the possibility of their being able to travel to the coast; and they then usually killed off the rest, that there might be none left to raise a hue and cry, and collect a party of rescuers to follow the slave-gang. This was the first process of selection. Then the journey to the coast would occupy several days at

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least; sometimes, when the raid had been far inland, it would occupy many weeks. The food supply to the captives was always meagre at the best, and under the strain of the wrench from the home village, the long journey, and the poor food, the weaker ones fell out of the ranks, and were either killed or left to perish. This was the second process of selection. At the coast the slaves were sold by the slave-hunters to the captains of the slave-ships, who rejected such as appeared incapable of standing the long voyage. That was the third process of selection. Then came the sea voyage of six or eight weeks in a slave-ship to Charleston, U.S.A.; or Kingston, Jamaica; or Bridgetown, Barbados. There were probably cases in which the slaves on board ship were fairly well provided for in a rough way as regards accommodation and food, and in which there was an absence of violence beyond what appeared necessary to keep them in order. But even under these relatively favourable conditions, such a change did this voyage involve from the free life of the African savage in his native home, besides the addition of an overshadowing terror of the sea and its uncertain experiences, and of the unknown and dreaded future, that many died on the passage. But in other cases there were added many woes to those terrors of the middle passage which were inevitable. There was the clanking of chains, the wild and deep groans of men, the weeping and wailing of women and children, the floggings, the cries of despair from the dying, and the casting of the dead into the sea; and to such horrors were superadded those which resulted from the crowding of these ill-fated creatures of all ages and of both sexes into the dark and filthy holds of these slave-ships, and all the bodily and mental agonies induced by these conditions. When the slaves were landed they were always a reduced number, often a greatly reduced

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number, compared with those which had been embarked. Those who had survived the inevitable trials, and the added horrors of the sea voyage had passed another severe physical and mental test, which furnished the fourth process of selection. And after a week or two in which to rest, to be fed up, and made fit for the market, the newly imported African slave stood to be sold in the Charleston or the Kingston slave-market, a good average specimen of the strongest people of Africa.

I think it may be inferred from the important facts thus briefly summarized that these former kidnapped slaves may be taken as good average representatives of the raw material of the race. If so, it is also a fair inference that what has been made of them and their descendants, as to character and capacity, under the influence of some civilization and Christian teaching, may be taken as a specimen of what may be realized hereafter when other sections of the race are brought under like influences.

5. Taking the American and West Indian original slave population as furnishing good average specimens of the African Negro race, we are able to proceed to discuss the important question, Will the African Negro people persist as a race, maintain their ground, and increase in numbers in the face of civilization? Or will they dwindle and die?

Let us first briefly look at the facts as presented in America, for there the contact of the race with civilization has included millions of individuals. The tables available at first sight show a steady increase, from 2,873,648 in 1840 to 4,880,009 in 1870, and to 8,840,789 in 1900. Looking more into detail, many facts go to show that the negroes in the Southern States have not since slavery was abolished been increasing in as great proportion as the whites; and that diseases resulting from overcrowding

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under unhealthy social conditions, in towns and some large populous country areas, are increasing. There is also to be taken into account the fact which has been little noticed in discussions on this subject that, though the slave trade was abolished in 1807 by the British Parliament and by the American Legislature, and while the abolition became effective as regards the British West Indies soon after the British Abolition Law was passed, there was up to a late date a continuous and large illicit trade in slaves between Africa and the Southern States of America. The importation of negroes from the Guinea Coast did not cease until after the Emancipation Proclamation in 1864. The Act of 1807, forbidding the trans-Atlantic slave trade, came near being a dead letter. In 1836, the consul at Havana reported that whole cargoes of slaves fresh from Africa were being daily shipped to Texas, and many of these found their way into the United States. Later, this trade increased in volume, and thousands of raw Africans were smuggled into the country every year through various channels. The efforts to stop the contraband trade were utterly inadequate. It is a matter of common knowledge in the South, that up to the time of the War of Secession negroes were frequently met who could not speak English. These facts prove that the increase in the black population of the Southern States up to 1860 was not due solely to natural causes, but was partly the result of fresh importations from Africa.

Another point needing consideration is this. It may be questioned whether the conditions of life of the freed negroes in the Southern States have on the whole been as favourable to the physical maintenance and development of the race as during slavery. This is not to question the wisdom of the abolition of slavery. Slavery at the best is a bad condition of life both for the enslaved and

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for the owner. Freedom is the birthright of man, and the necessary condition of all substantial, mental, moral, and social advancement. Many of the white people of the South were strongly in favour of the gradual abolition of slavery, realizing as they did the unwisdom of seeking to build up a national prosperity with such an institution as its base. There were special features of cruelty incident to American slavery, which under bad owners made themselves terribly felt, and which distressed the minds and hearts of the more thoughtful and humane of the planters. One such feature was the selling away from the plantations on which they had been reared, and away from friends and kindred, from mother or from child never more to meet again in this world, of large numbers of slaves, just as cattle would be sold from a farm when the owner thought fit so to dispose of them. It is said that Abraham Lincoln, when a young man on a visit to New Orleans in 1831, witnessed a slave auction. He saw a beautiful slave girl sold, after her various qualities and points had been described and exhibited as if she had been a horse. Lincoln walked away from the sad scene with strong feelings of hatred of the slave system roused in his heart which never left him. He said to John Hank, who was with him, "If I ever get a chance to hit that institution, I'll hit it hard, John." And he did.

Even in the case of the multitude of slaves living under and working for humane owners, there was the sad fact that the words home and family could have no real meaning for them; and the moral incentives to development arising out of family ties and responsibilities legally assured were wanting. There was no legal marriage, and even in the case of those under the best masters and mistresses, there was always the possibility of financial failure or difficulty to the owner, and behind

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that there loomed for the slave the terrible shadow of the auction-block.

But it still remains a question whether on the whole, and leaving out individual instances of special cruelty and the effect on sections of slaves, where the management and conditions were coarse and bad, the system of steady work, regular food, clothing, and rest did not, in a period of transition from African savagery to modern civilization, safeguard and develop the physical life of the negro, and serve, in the providence of God, as a stepping-stone to free conditions.

6. The point of deep interest to all who care for the future of these people is, whether the signs of physical deterioration under present conditions are only the inevitable concomitants of another transition period—a deterioration which will be arrested and overcome as the better elements in the race become adapted to free conditions. This is the hopeful view which I am disposed to take, and in which I am strengthened by West Indian experiences. The West Indian vital statistics quoted in this article show a steady progress of the black people in numbers, both since the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and since the abolition of slavery itself was completed in 1838. The increase in numbers has been entirely due to natural causes, in the face of a considerable emigration to other countries. There is nothing to show that the average black man in these countries possesses less physical stamina than his forefathers. And while there has been an increase of civilized conditions, and many have acquired property and become in every way respectable, and often influential, members of the community, there is no evidence that these members of the race, more advanced than others in education and the use of the conveniences and comforts of civilized life, have incurred any physical deterioration.

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I think it has in the foregoing paragraphs been sufficiently established that the Negro people are one race; that they probably number more than 200 millions of people; and that they will not die out, but increase under the influences of civilization.

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## CHAPTER II

### Characteristics of the Negro

**The Negro population of the West as influenced by Christianity—In the United States—In the West Indies—In Jamaica—Characteristics of Negro religion—Realization of a personal God—The "emotional" character of Negro religion—This has been exaggerated—The Negro's love of music—Hymns—The social element in the religious life of the Negro—Christian charity—Loyalty and respect for law—The Negro mind is practical rather than ideal—Summary.**

1. The next step in our inquiry must be an endeavour to form a reliable estimate of the extent to which the negro population in the countries of the West has been brought under direct religious influences. It is difficult to do this satisfactorily. There are different ways of reckoning membership in Churches, and classifications of various sorts are adopted in different countries. It is probably best to avoid attempts at minute statements of detail in an article like this, and endeavour to get as accurately as possible at the main facts.

2. The black and coloured population of the United States, as set forth in the census table given above, amounted in 1900 to 8,840,789. The following statement, according to Dr. Carroll, represents the membership in the various ecclesiastical organizations for the year 1903 : —

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| Denominations. | Ministers. | Churches. | Membership. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Baptists | 10,729 | 15,614 | 1,625,330 |
| Union American Methodists | 180 | 205 | 16,500 |
| African Methodists | 6,500 | 5,800 | 785,000 |
| African Union Methodist Protestants | 68 | 68 | 2,980 |
| African Zion Methodists | 3,886 | 3,042 | 551,591 |
| Congregational Methodists | 5 | 5 | 319 |
| Coloured Methodists | 2,159 | 1,497 | 207,723 |
| Cumberland Presbyterians | 450 | 400 | 39,000 |
| | 23,477 | 26,631 | 3,228,393 |

A number of coloured people are connected with separate Churches not in association with organized bodies of coloured Christians, but which form an integral part of those larger denominations which are chiefly composed of the white people. These are estimated as follows :—

| Denominations. | Ministers. | Churches. | Membership. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Methodists (Methodist Episcopal) | — | — | 245,954 |
| Congregationalists | 139 | 230 | 12,155 |
| Episcopalians | 85 | 200 | 15,000 |
| Presbyterians | 209 | 358 | 21,341 |

This statement, however, is defective in two respects. It does not specify any members of the Roman Catholic Church, and it does not mention the number of coloured people, which must be very considerable, who are members of local Churches chiefly composed of whites, and who are in no way distinguished from the rest of the membership in the statistical returns of such Churches. Besides these, there are perhaps nearly half a million coloured people distributed over the Northern States,

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including the towns; and it may be assumed that a proportion of them (as large as in the South) are connected with different Churches. The most probable estimate I can form, putting all the facts together, is that there are four and a half million Church members in the United States. This means that about half the entire black and coloured population is definitely attached to some Church or religious organization.

Statistics in accordance with the above classification are not obtainable in detail in reference either to the West Indian or African Churches. This is mainly owing to two causes. First, the endeavour in most of the British possessions is to avoid emphasizing differences of race and colour among British subjects. Secondly, Church work in many places is a mixture of missionary and ordinary congregational or parochial work, and it is often not possible, in dissecting the returns, to separate these two. But it may be estimated with some confidence that in the West Indies and such sections of Africa as are somewhat similarly circumstanced (for example, Sierra Leone), the proportion of the black and coloured population definitely attached to Churches is much the same as shown in detail above for the United States—namely, one-half.

3 We have, as a necessary preliminary, considered some important facts of a general character bearing on certain phases of the main problem we are considering. We have realized what a large section of the population of the world the black African race constitutes; that the race is likely to continue and to increase; that under various conditions, where it has had the opportunity, it has responded to the claims of Christianity and accepted membership in the Church of Christ on a large scale, proportionate to the numbers brought within reach of Christianizing and civilizing influences. Many matters

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of importance have not been touched in reaching these general facts. But we have seen enough of the history of these negroes, who have been transplanted from West Africa to the United States and the West Indies, to enable us to judge of the details which must now be considered, and to estimate the total result in its bearing on the main theme of this article.

I have no personal knowledge of the black races in Africa, but have considerable knowledge in regard to them of the kind to be obtained from books, and from intercourse with many persons well acquainted with African life. In addition to book-knowledge respecting the American negro, I have some personal acquaintance with the facts of his general religious history and condition; and also a considerable personal knowledge of the black people throughout the West Indies; and an experience extending over more than forty years in Jamaica during which I have been in constant touch with them.

It is worth while considering how far this state of knowledge and experience is an advantage or disadvantage in attempting to reach just conclusions on the subject of the present article. A considerable personal knowledge of the black races, as they exist at present in various parts of Africa, would undoubtedly influence opinion and affect judgment as regards the black people; but this would be, in the main, opinion and judgment regarding the raw material. It may be surmised that only in isolated cases, in Africa itself, are facts furnished which may fairly indicate, as the result of experience, the possibilities of the negro and his influence as a developed Christian in the direction to which this article refers. Even in the Southern States of America it may be questioned whether, notwithstanding the efforts of the various Churches and societies, the black man has had

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opportunities, proportionate to his numbers, of coming really under the influence of an intelligent Christianity. On the other hand, it may be fairly claimed that in the West Indies, and speaking particularly of Jamaica, for two generations the black people have been so far under the influence of various forms of Christianity, that in the case of those who have yielded to that influence and become active members of Christian Churches, there is evidence of the more permanent traits of Christian character and life which will be exhibited by negro people on a large scale, when they become subject to the influences of Christianity and Christian civilization.

In countries where there are not the advantages of the British rule, or some equivalent representative of true justice and of modern civilization, the development of the black man may be expected both to proceed more slowly and to exhibit characteristics which do not manifest themselves in Colonial communities under British rule. Where the number of white people is large in proportion to the negro community, the development of negroes may have the tendency to be artificial. But in places situated like Jamaica there is, on the one hand, enough scope for the manifestation of the true tendency of the race in the exercise of individual freedom; and there is, on the other hand, the guidance and leadership of the white and educated coloured people, while yet their numbers are small in proportion to the total population. Out of a population of about 800,000 in Jamaica, only about 15,000 are white. The proportion is much greater in Barbados; and about the same in other British West Indian Colonies. It may therefore be taken for granted that what is observed in the West Indies in general, and in Jamaica in particular, should be accepted as a fair indication of what the negro will become in the course of several generations, where he is aided in his development

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by just laws, a stable government, and the general leadership of white men without artificial conditions, but combined with the direct influences on a sufficient scale of effective Christian teaching and organization.

In a later section of this article it will be necessary to show that the negro has great need to learn many things in religion which are emphasized in the Christianity of other races, especially on the ethical and moral sides of Christianity; but here we proceed to consider some characteristic features of the Christianity of the Negro race which appear to be worthy of the notice of Christians belonging to the more advanced races of mankind.

1. One characteristic feature of negro religion which, when purified and developed on spiritual lines, would be a strength to Christendom and corrective of the vague ideas of other races, is the strong realization by the negro Christian of a personal God, and His immediate connection with the events of human life—physical and spiritual. It may be that this will be greatly modified by education and the trend of modern thought; but it seems to be an essential characteristic of the race.

It is fitting here to note the features in the native African negro's religion which correspond with this Christian development; for they will serve to indicate that this is a race characteristic. There is a mass of evidence or testimony available, and I have read much of it. It is therefore, perhaps, permissible for me here to say that, while the thoughtful and observant traveller in an African country may learn much concerning visible facts and circumstances as he passes from place to place, he is not likely to learn the true inwardness of things, or to get at the real mind of the negroes with whom he comes in contact. It requires a prolonged residence among them, and a large amount of real sympathy which will win

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their confidence, before their real views and opinions and feelings can be ascertained. To any one wishing to pursue this branch of our subject in further detail than the limits of this article will admit, I commend the recently published book, "Fetichism in West Africa," by the Rev. Dr. Nassau. I am not personally acquainted with him; but I understand that, as a medical man and a missionary, he has had forty years of close contact with West African negro life, and has thus had special and prolonged opportunities of knowing thoroughly many African tribes, including some of the most debased.

It is quite easy to see that the reports of some travellers, including such as had no prejudice against Christianity or missionary work, to the effect that native Africans whom they met have confessed that they had no idea of the existence of God could be made in all sincerity. Such travellers, passing through a country with only a few days in which to make the acquaintance of any particular tribe, must have been unable to converse fluently, or to secure a reliable interpreter, and, not being in touch with native modes of thought and speech, could not make their questions intelligible. Moreover, the natives, unaccustomed to analytic thought, must answer vaguely on the spur of the moment, and, when not in antagonism, their obsequious tendency would lead them to give whatever answer they thought would best please their inquirer; and they would, in accordance with their habit, naturally assume that a confession of ignorance would be the most acceptable answer. And if even some missionaries, when first realizing the depth of native degradation, should have concluded that the African with whom they came in contact was without the knowledge of God, this would not be surprising. But whatever may have led, in any case, to such a conclusion, it is a profound

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mistake. The following paragraphs from Dr. Nassau's book are worth pondering over, and to condense them would be to mutilate them:—

"After more than forty years' residence among these tribes, fluently using their language, conversant with their customs, dwelling intimately in their huts, associating with them in the varied relations of teacher, pastor, friend, master, fellow-traveller, and guest, and, in my special office as missionary, searching after their religious thought (and therefore being allowed a deeper entrance into the arcana of their soul than would be accorded to a passing explorer), I am able, unhesitatingly, to say that among all the multitude of degraded ones with whom I have met, I have seen or heard of none whose religious thought was only a superstition.

"Under varying names, such as Anyambe, Njambi, . . . . Ukuku, and Suku, they know of a Being superior to themselves, of whom they themselves inform me that He is the Maker and Father. . . .

"If suddenly they should be asked the flat question, 'Do you know Anyambe?' they would probably tell any white visitor, trader, traveller, or even missionary, under a feeling of their general ignorance and the white man's superior knowledge, 'No. What do we know? You are white people and are spirits; you come from Njambi's town and know all about Him.' . . . I reply, 'No, I am not a spirit; and while I do indeed know about Anyambe, I did not call Him by that name. It is your own word. Where did you get it?' 'Our forefathers told us that name. Njambi is the one who made us. He is our Father.' Pursuing the conversation, they will interestedly and voluntarily say, 'He made these trees, that mountain, this river, these goats and chickens, and us people.'

"That typical conversation I have had hundreds of times, under an immense variety of circumstances, with the most varied audiences, and before extremes of ignorance, savagery, and uncivilization. . . .

"The name of that great Being was everywhere and in every tribe, before any of them had become enlightened; varied in form in each tribe by the dialectic difference belonging to their own, and not imported from others.". . .

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Miss Kingsley says, concerning the African negro—

"In every action of his daily life he shows you how he lives with a great, powerful spirit-world around him."

It may be considered quite certain that the negro mind, even in his original savagery, is strongly imbued with a belief in the existence of a great Creator and Ruler.

In keeping with the original bent of the negro mind, but modified and developed by Christianity, the negro Christian is especially strong in the habit of realizing the presence and power of God in all nature, in all life, in all circumstances. He sees God in everything. In all the providences and events of human life the negro Christian realizes not the working of some abstract and far-off Deity, but the hand of a loving, living, ever-present Divine Father. And this is exhibited in a willing, cheerful acceptance of sorrows and casualties and every form of trial, as being so many expressions of the Divine will; and so, being things that work for good. And with them prayer is not only a form to be observed, but a method of asking for things which may be expected to be obtained if the good Father thinks it wise and kind to bestow them. Within a year of my writing this a negro child, in a Christian family that I know, who had the race feeling on this subject, was in great sorrow because she had lost her dolly. No one could find it for her. She knelt down and shut her eyes, and reverently said this little prayer: "O God, comfort me and help me to remember where I lost my dolly." In weariness she fell asleep. When she awoke, she said, "I have dreamt of my dolly. I know where it is;" and she went and found it where she had lost it, and believed that God had heard her prayer; and then on the spot she knelt down again and offered this thanksgiving prayer: "O God, I thank Thee



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for showing me where to find my dolly." That illustrates, in a simple form, what may be taken as a characteristic of a good negro Christian. It is a phase of Old Testament religion exhibited in modern Christian life.

To the negro mind, calamities, earthquake, hurricane, pestilence, accident, are to be ascribed definitely to the action of a personal God, the wisdom of whose working is not to be questioned. Sickness is God's sickness. In the case of a thoughtful negro Christian, overtaken with some great personal or family trouble or bereavement, there will be outbursts of sorrow and strong demonstrations of grief, accompanied perhaps by the piercing, though sometimes formal, wailing of friends who have come to fulfil the neighbourly duty of comforting; but the real and chief mourners make strong and successful efforts at self-control, maintaining an attitude of reverent submission. One is constantly reminded in such cases of the Psalmist's statement: "I was dumb, I opened not my mouth, because Thou didst it." And in like manner prosperous occasions, and what would be commonly spoken of as fortunate circumstances and lucky events, are directly ascribed to the goodness of God. Uncorrected, this tendency leads to fatalism and the absence of human effort to secure good and avoid evil. But qualified and modified by intelligence, Christian knowledge, and personal experience, it still leaves an attitude of the mind towards outward circumstances which is markedly different from that which almost or altogether misses the influence of a personal God in human events, and leaves everything to the operation of fixed law, or to chance, or to the control of a distant God. This strong realization of the personal element in the Divine government of the world is one in which the faith of Christendom as a whole needs strengthening.

2. There is one very commonly accepted view of negro

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religion which needs to be more carefully considered and expressed than is usually the case. It is said to be very emotional. In some of the senses in which this word is used, my experience does not support the view. For example, while great crowds of ignorant negroes, who have got some knowledge of the primary truths of religion, would probably be worked upon very strongly by a preacher who knew how to appeal to their emotions at that stage of development, and the result might be all sorts of frantic and hysterical manifestations, I should look upon that not as a fundamental characteristic, but as an incident resulting from a certain stage of knowledge and culture. I have not had the opportunity of seeing the effect upon the second generation of fairly educated negro Christians of a powerful emotional preacher of their own race. Personally, I have witnessed greater emotional results of my own preaching upon the working classes in various parts of England, than among the negroes of the West Indies; and I have seen much more excitement as the result of preaching and speaking by others in England, than I have ever seen as the result of any preaching or speaking in the West Indies. There are certain forms of emotional excitement, and various manifestations thereof, in connection with some types of religious teaching and enthusiasm of a very elementary character; but these belong to a different category. I am at present trying to estimate the emotional condition of the intelligent and moderately well-educated negro Christian. Intelligent black people are not to be put off by sermons which consist mainly of appeals to the feelings and have no real instruction in them, and are lacking in matter calculated to inform and influence the judgment. They will gladly listen to and appreciate a teaching sermon, and will follow the preacher with care throughout a long discourse of the kind if it is delivered with

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clearness and force. Yet it is also true that, apart from what may be expected as suitable to a special occasion, a preacher who appeals to the intellect only will fail to be appreciated. There must, in order to satisfy, be that in a sermon which is sometimes called "unction," when looked at from the spiritual side, or which may be spoken of as emotional, because it is fitted to touch and move the affections and emotions. Some years ago, after removing a devoted and able clergyman to a fresh and important sphere of work for which I believed him to be well qualified, I had a wish to ascertain why he had not been as acceptable as I thought he should have been in his former cure. On my next visitation I sought to ascertain the facts about the matter. In accordance with my expectation, there was no complaint of any neglect of duty, and it seemed for some time unlikely that I should learn anything of what I wanted to know. But eventually an elderly negro, who was also a ripe and earnest Christian, ventured to give expression to his own feelings and those of his brethren, by the statement that "there is nothing the matter with the parson except that his sermons are too lean." This was to express the idea that they were appeals to the intellect, but not to the heart. Is it not possible that throughout the Church a stronger emphasis is required to be put upon that method of presenting Christian truth which, besides satisfying the intellect, also moves the heart? Is it not possible that the demands of the Negro race in this particular are such as would help the spread of Christian truth and life in other communities if the conditions were observed? Mere appeals to the feelings soon lose their influence for the negro, as they would for other races; but presentation of the truth in a form which includes both, informing the mind and moving the affections, ought to be an essential element in Christian preaching generally.

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3. "It is curious what a stirring effect the sound of the tam-tam has on the African. It works upon him like martial music does upon the excitable Frenchman."

"They are passionately fond of music, and it exerts a very great influence upon their lives."

These quotations refer to the African in Africa in his uncivilized condition. They are indications of the natural bent of the race. Educated negroes are not incapable of appreciating music in its highest forms. They are able to take a full and effective share in the vocal and instrumental presentation of the great oratorios; and among the mixed audiences in the West Indies a large and appreciative section will always be the black people. It has long been a part of the fixed arrangement of my duties for the year that I should share in the great service, and preach the sermon, in the forenoon of Easter Day at the parish church, Kingston, Jamaica. Among the incidents of that service, again and again I have been deeply moved and touched by the careful rendering, by the mixed choir, of some fine anthem suitable for the day. And that anthem has often included a solo, sung by a black member of the choir, with a correctness, grace, and sweetness, and power of voice, which held the attention and expressed the devotional feelings of the vast congregation, made up of large numbers of black and coloured people, and also many educated persons of various races, and tourists from England and America—the latter at first surprised and then gratified, and finally forgetting, under the influence of the sacred feelings stirred within them, that she who thus expressed in sacred song the great Easter truth was a black woman. But it is also the fact that a type of music, which I shall most lucidly describe to the general reader by saying that it finds its characteristic expression in the plantation songs of the

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Southern States, is peculiarly representative of negro taste and feeling. The following quotation from Sinclair's book, "The Aftermath of Slavery," brings out this fact in connection with the thought and feeling of the negro of the Southern States in his time of bondage and sorrow:—

"They learned how to use the title of one of their sweet melodies to "Steal away, steal away, steal away to Jesus," and find strength, comfort, and sustaining help in every time of need. They seem also to have demonstrated that liberty is an instinct of the human heart; for in the blackest hour of the long night of their gloomy bondage, they sang most gleefully, and with joyous, hopeful hearts, another of their soul-inspiring melodies—

"'One of these days I shall be free,
When Christ the Lord shall set me free.'

"This song was forbidden by the slave-owners, because its spirit would tend to keep alive the thirst for liberty. It is but another illustration of the wisdom of the man who said, 'Let me write the songs of a people, and I care not who may write their laws.'

"The negroes hoodwinked the master class by humming the music of this particular song, while the words echoed and re-echoed deep down in their hearts with perhaps greater effect than if they had been spoken. These melodies were to them the Incarnation—God with them; and to their keen and simple faith He seemed to be visible and tangible, ever present and ever blessed. These songs had a meaning and power which all men may appreciate, but which the negro alone could fully comprehend. Songs are the heart-language of a people; and as the negro heart-language, it is not surprising that these melodies should touch and melt human hearts the world over. Queens, emperors, and potentates of the Old World, the President in the White House, the most cultured and fashionable audiences everywhere had been moved and melted to tears by their rendition. Of a truth, as a heart-language they are at once the interpretation and exemplification of that wondrous touch of nature 'which makes the whole world kin.' In them was the

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secret of the sustaining power which enabled the negroes to weather the storms of their bitter afflictions and sing—

"'I'm sometimes up and sometimes down,
Oh! yes, Lord!
Sometimes almost to the ground,
Oh! yes, Lord.

"'Nobody knows the trouble I see,
Nobody knows but Jesus;
Nobody knows the trouble I see,
Glory in my soul.'

"It was this glory in the soul that enabled them not only to withstand all the grinding experiences, tribulations, and beastialities of the slave system, but even to flourish and multiply." . . .

So fond are negroes of music that even out of scanty wages they will manage to buy some sort of musical instrument. In digging yam-hills and other field-work, the hoes descend in regular time to the "song without words," which echoes from mountain to mountain in pleasing harmony—solo and chorus, and also extra parts added (at their own sweet will) which never seem to mar the melody or jar on the ear. They appear to possess an intuitive knowledge of harmony, and they have a remarkable capacity of adding impromptu parts, or single notes which emphasize the melody and produce no discord, in such simple rhythms as a music-loving but uncultured people naturally furnish; though some of their tunes are not lacking in dramatic effect at times.

It is probable that music of a kind fitted to appeal to the sympathies of the negro at numerous stages of his mental growth, and adapted to the development of his tastes rather than aiming to supplant them, may do much towards promoting his mental and moral elevation; and all who have at heart the interests and advancement of this race should ever keep this important factor in their recollection, and make the fullest use of it.

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The natural musical taste of the negro when chastened and developed, as it is in some of the best words and music of modern sacred songs, must be allowed full opportunity of use in public worship, or a large element of the negro taste is not satisfied and finds no expression. Congregational worship must include hymns and tunes which meet this need. One only has to hear a congregation of a few hundred or a couple of thousand persons joining as with one voice in a familiar and popular hymn, set to such music, to realize that herein is an element of feeling and taste which must be provided for and encouraged to find full scope for its expression; and it needs to find its legitimate and recognized place in the hymnody and music of the Church Universal.

It is worthy of remark here that the Roman Catholic Church has, among other things, shown its power of adaptation to circumstances in the West Indies, by a large use of tunes actually associated with Protestant worship, and hymns and sacred songs to correspond; also by making arrangements for the conduct of popular services by laymen in the absence of the priest, of which these hymns form a conspicuous portion.

4. The negro manifests his religious social instincts in his love of religious services in which he can take a share. This element is provided for among the non-liturgical Churches in prayer-meetings and other gatherings in which he takes an active part. It is probably this element which, contrary to what is sometimes supposed or asserted, makes the educated negro specially appreciative of, and at home in, services furnished by the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. In every form of Christian worship this social instinct has opportunity to manifest itself in the hymn-singing, which is usually joined in with great fervour. As regards the Church of England, both the responses in the prayers

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and litanies, and the canticles and hymns, are joined in with an earnestness and a fulness seldom realized in other communities. This same characteristic makes guilds, unions, and societies of various kinds for religious and secular purposes popular and necessary. Isolation in Church life is repugnant to the negro.

The extent to which the social element is developed in the religious life of some of the American negroes shows how largely it is expressive of negro character, and at the same time what need there is of keeping this element in check, so as to restrain its manifestations within such bounds as will minister to edification and not develop irreverence.

"The negro Church is the peculiar and characteristic product of the transplanted African, and deserves special study. As a social group the negro Church may be said to have antedated the negro family on American soil; as such it has preserved, on the one hand, many functions of tribal organizations, and, on the other hand, many of the family functions. Its tribal functions are shown in its religious activity, its social authority, and general guiding and co-ordinating work; its family functions are shown by the fact that the Church is a centre of social life and intercourse; acts as newspaper and intelligence bureau, is the centre of amusements—indeed, it is the world in which the negro moves and acts. . . . Without wholly conscious effort the negro Church has become a centre of social intercourse to a degree unknown in white Churches, even in the country. All sorts of entertainments and amusements are furnished by the Churches—concerts, suppers, socials, fairs, literary exercises and debates, cantatas, plays, excursions, picnics, surprise parties, celebrations. . . . In this way the social life of the negro centres in his Church; baptism, wedding and burial, gossip and courtship, friendship and intrigue—all lie within these walls." [1]

There can be no doubt that this social element may

[1] Du Bois.

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easily be exaggerated in the religious life of the people, because it is so fully in the direction of their tastes and feelings. But where the Church organization is well compacted, and the people generally are under the control of the more intelligent and spiritually advanced, the exaggerations in this direction will not obtain permanent sway. I am the more convinced of this because not only have we no difficulty of this sort in the Church of England in Jamaica, but I have reason to believe that in the Baptist and other communities in Jamaica, more largely consisting of black people, these social demonstrations seldom take an exaggerated form.

This social characteristic which we are now discussing has also its bearing on forms of Christian charity. The readiness with which help is given to poor persons in cases of real necessity is very marked. It is perhaps a characteristic of the poor everywhere to be more ready than the rich to help their neighbours; but it is specially marked in the negro. So the hungry man will often share his scanty meal with the poor neighbour; and not only that, but a poor workman on the road, sitting on the bank to eat his breakfast, will never fail to offer a little to the passer-by who stops to say good morning. In this connection I am reminded of an incident which struck me at the time as a vivid illustration of the way in which the social and religious habits of a people exercise a far-reaching influence, not only on the character and conduct of the individual, but on the development and destiny of the race. In the course of a long journey I had stopped to rest and feed my horses under a tree by the roadside, and the driver and myself had each our own breakfast. Guided by the habit acquired during many years of such journeys and intimate connection with the people, I offered to share my meal with two or three wayfarers who were resting near by

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in the friendly shade, and who gladly accepted the courtesy, and at the same time entered into conversation; they were well clad, intelligent black men on a journey to a distant town. As we talked there came up an East Indian labourer, weary with his walk in the hot sun, but not with the burden of the dress of a Western traveller, for he had on only a loin-cloth and a puggaree. After the usual salutations and inquiries concerning his welfare, I offered some food to him also. But he refused it, and shrank from the hand that offered it with gestures that looked like expressions of mingled feelings of loathing and of contempt. My food, including the touch of the hand that had cooked it and the method of its cooking, would have contaminated him, and he would not accept it; for though he was a half-clad hungry sojourner in this island of the West, was he not a Brahmin, into whose mouth nothing common or unclean had ever entered? There was, by virtue of his training and the habit of his caste, a great social gulf between us. I felt rebuked for my presumption, sorry for my thoughtlessly attempted infraction of a social law to him dearer than life, and saddened to think that I could not begin my intercourse with this stranger on the footing of a man and a brother; and then my thoughts went off to India, and to the noble band of men and women—messengers of Christ, who are trying to break down the great walls of partition, and to make it easier for people of all the castes to come into the brotherhood of Jesus Christ; and with a prayer for these my brother missionaries in the far-off Eastern lands, and a thanksgiving that I had not this difficulty to contend with in my ministrations here, I started afresh on my journey. The Church which does not exhibit the brotherhood of Christians will have little prospect of real progress among black people.

As illustrating the aptitude of the negro to respond

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and enter into the social element of religion, I quote the following from the London *Times* of September 9, 1905. Its American correspondent wrote concerning the Annual Convention of the National Negro Business League which had been recently held in New York:—

"This Conference, attended by delegates from local leagues in all parts of the country, gave remarkable evidence of the progress made by the 'coloured man' in commercial activities of many types. His successes in literature, art, and the professions were for the moment ignored, and attention was concentrated on his achievements in business pure and simple. The most interesting sessions of the Conference were those in which first-hand accounts were given of individual struggles and successes. Many who were present were accustomed to the [religious] experience meeting, and they felt no more diffidence in giving their 'testimony' in business matters than in religious. Some of these life histories were striking examples of the conquest of difficulties."

The point in the above quotation which strikes me as bearing upon the special purpose of this article, is the contrast which it presents between the average negro and the average Englishman. In a conference of Englishmen on religious subjects, it might have been stated that many of the speakers had been accustomed to interchange opinions in business experiences, and that this had fitted them for speaking clearly and without reserve on religious experiences in a religious assembly; in the case of the American Negro, the reverse was the fact. It was his habit of expressing and discussing spiritual experiences in social and religious gatherings that had prepared him for discussions of a similar character in regard to business.

There may be missions among the negroes—and even successful missions—in which this social element finds little scope for manifestation. It is probable that if from

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the very beginning of a mission in a negro country a form of religious service were adopted and used which allowed little or no opportunity for the people sharing in the public expression of prayer and praise, or in semi-public religious exercises in which the social element found adequate scope, the converts could be trained to the acceptance of such a form of service and of such a type of religion. But my impression is, that whenever or wherever a different form, which gave them the opportunity of sharing in the worship, came under their notice, the bulk of them would desire to use it, and would not be contented till they secured the opportunity. This would be the case because the congregational worship and the social element in subsidiary forms of service appeal to their nature. Whether the emotion to be expressed be one of joy or of sorrow, it must be openly expressed: they must share it with others. Similarly as regards the actual work of the Church, there is a natural tendency to wish to take a personal share in it. Unfit persons often have this wish: they feel called to preach even to large congregations; but a wise administration gives them the opportunity of exercising their gifts in a humbler sphere. But it is not only unfit persons who have this wish to be publicly useful. It is a very general feeling; and by judicious selection, and with a due amount of training and preparation, the lay people in a well-ordered Christian community give considerable aid in the functions of the Church—in guilds and unions and associations; in managing the local business affairs; in conducting mission services and the like, and including often an important and effective share in the preaching. The growing spiritual influence of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew in the Church of England in Jamaica is a striking example of this.

This social idea is manifested also in the readiness

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of black people to realize responsibility for the maintenance of the Church, and to exercise self-denial for that purpose. This quality is strongly exhibited in most intelligent and really earnest black Christians. It shows itself both in money gifts, which are large in proportion to their small earnings, and in the giving of materials for Church buildings and of days of free labour. As illustrating this part of the subject, it may be here stated that the clergy of the Church of England in Jamaica, numbering about one hundred, and the whole machinery of the Church and its various organizations, are maintained principally by the voluntary contributions of the black and coloured working folk; and this is largely the case as regards Moravians, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists.

This social religious element in its due proportion is a true expression of the Christian spirit, and is capable of strengthening the forces of Christianity and its effective influence both upon the nominal or unattached sections of the community in Christian countries, and upon the non-Christian populations of the world. It is a fine product of the fundamental teaching of the Church, which exhibits it as a family, a brotherhood, with a common Father.

5. The negro has a strong appreciation of the authority of law. This manifests itself in civil affairs. He not only makes a loyal subject, but readily admits his responsibility to obey the law of the land. Even in things in which he fails to obey, he does not dispute the authority, but makes the best excuses he can for his non-obedience. This is in accordance with the characteristics frequently manifested in native African life.

"It has been noted in many instances where the white man has firmly asserted an ascendency over a few personal attendants or employees, and followed every delinquency with swift and unerring discipline, that the

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natives instead of becoming sullen and cunningly vindictive, come to have the greatest respect and attachment for him, and exhibited a fidelity to his interests never otherwise secured among West Africans. Du Chaillu found that as long as he was merely kind and considerate with his porters, they cared less for him and his fate than when he assumed an attitude of despotic power, asserted his will with decision, and brooked no dilly-dallying or deception, on pain of death on the spot. They then seemed to have a sort of pride in their master, boasted of the very qualities in him which compelled their obedience, and parted from him with sorrow at the end of a tour. It is always the strong-minded, uncompromising, governor or officer along the coast who becomes the most popular with the natives, and is most heartily sustained by their public opinion."[1]

This trait of the negro character is often brought into evidence in his Church relations. There are, of course, small Christian sects in which the authority of the bodies from which they secede is repudiated. These small sects exist for the reason which has brought into existence various sects in other countries and ages, namely, to give special expression to some religious opinion, or to carry out some special religious observances. But even within these small sects, so long as they exist, the duty of submission to authority is recognized. In the corporate life of the large denominations, and the well-established Churches, this is a strong feature. Not only is discipline submitted to, but, while wrongdoers everywhere are glad enough to avoid disciplinary authority, the general sense of the community unwaveringly supports the recognized lawful discipline; and there is a sense of ignominy in belonging to a congregation or Church in which order and discipline are not maintained. And so it comes to pass that in all the religious denominations in Jamaica, and not least in the Church of England, there

[1] Du Bois.

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is generally maintained a firm discipline in morals which leads to the suspension of offenders, and often their public suspension or exclusion from Church privileges. This is expected and appreciated by the membership generally; and the clergyman or minister of any denomination who vacillates, and is weak in the administration of discipline, does not thereby in any way add to his popularity and general acceptance, much less to the strength of his organization. On the whole, a firm discipline which errs on the side of severity is more appreciated than a discipline which errs on the side of weakness, provided that there is no favouritism or inequality in the administration. They like to be led by a firm hand, and ruled by clear and strong law which they can understand. In these qualities Christianized sections of the race may assist the growth in the Christian community generally of sound ideas as to due subordination to wise ecclesiastical authority.

The survey furnished throughout this book of the characteristics of the larger divisions of mankind will probably be thought by many to warrant the conclusion that the fundamental differences between races in the matters herein discussed are only two; that there are divers and important variations; but that in essence they represent two sides of human nature—the philosophical and the practical, the idealistic and the realistic, the abstract and the concrete. It is, however, perhaps important to remember that part, at least, of this fundamental difference is the result of culture, or the absence of it, and that all special race tendencies will eventually be modified by time and culture. Yet within any period that we can realize the differences will abide which are best expressed by the words East and West, or Hindu and Englishman. The Negro race falls under the class practical rather than the class ideal; the concrete facts of religion alone appeal

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to the negro mind. To a certain extent, this (as in the case of the Englishman) has its variations resulting from culture; but the boundary line is not crossed. The negro conception of Christianity cannot become that of the Asiatic.

Let us here take note of the fact that what each race contributes to the sum of Christian thought and practice includes action and reaction. What one emphasizes and another neglects will, as time passes and intercommunication increases, tell upon the whole body of Christian thought; defects will be remedied and excrescences be removed, and Christianity will tend more and more to become a perfect expression of the whole of the Divine teaching as interpreted by the thoughts, experience, and needs of the whole human race. But there will still be the fundamental differences arising from mental construction, and the tendency to appreciate matters in the abstract or the concrete.

To sum up, therefore, the indications resulting from the various facts discussed in this article, the subjects, the habits of thought, and the modes of action in which the Christianity of the Negro race will, to a considerable degree, affect the sum-total of Christianity in the future, may be stated under the following heads:—

(1) Realizing the personality of God and the objectivity of Divine manifestation. Cheerful acceptance of all providential arrangements as the acts of a wise and loving God. Old Testament religion in a Christian form.

(2) The emotional element generally in the presentation of truth, and the experimental realizing of it.

(3) Musical tastes of a particular kind, and the emotional expression of religious ideas in music, in song, and in worship.

(4) The social element. The sense of brotherhood in the Church. Taking an active personal share in the



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services of public worship, and in the actual work of the Church. Supporting the Church financially. Community in service and sympathy in affliction and in joy as well as sorrow.

(5) A strong appreciation of the authority of the Church, and recognition of the value of its disciplinary arrangements

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## CHAPTER III

### Negro Christianity

Aims and methods of Christian work among Negroes—The emotional and social elements of character must be wisely controlled and guided—Defects and weaknesses must be met and strengthened—Church organization—Correction of superstitious tendencies—Inculcation of moral discipline and practice—Moral conditions among Christianized Negroes—Among unchristianized African natives—Hope for the future—Slowness of race-development.

In accordance with the purposes of this volume, this article cannot be concluded without giving suggestions which may indicate what (along the lines of experience hitherto gained) should be the aims and the methods of work for the future development of the Church among the Negro race.

1. One aim should be the controlling and guidance into safe channels of exhibition and service of those qualities and characteristics which are dominant in the race. They must not be ridiculed, or banned, or unduly repressed; but they must be controlled. The emotional and social elements especially must be thus dealt with. The duty of pursuing this course is so obvious, and so easily understood, that it need not be further dwelt upon here. And this control will not be resented, but rather welcomed, by the thoughtful and developing negro. Within my own recollection various typical cases have occurred in which thoughtful West Indian negroes have been made to feel very uncomfortable while sharing in the

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worship of some American Negro Churches, and they have felt obliged to leave them and seek opportunities for a more sober worship in Churches of the white people.

2. The mischief resulting from the divisions of Christendom; the waste of energy; the overlapping of work; the weakening of discipline;—all this needs a practical remedy. Where is the remedy to be found? It is needed in order to secure the true and rapid progress of Christianity in the wide fields of heathenism. It is needed in the smaller communities, where ministers and missionaries are numerous enough almost to jostle one another in their work.

3. Another aim should be to meet defects, and build up the religious life of the negro on the side on which it is naturally weak. This is a large subject, and needs to be fully explained and pressed.

As regards making plans for the organization and management of the affairs of Churches on a large scale, it must be borne in mind that only a few here and there among the African races exhibit in effective combination the essential qualities of leadership and government by constitutional methods. Wise and constant endeavours should be made to cultivate and develop these qualities; but there should be neither surprise nor disappointment if the process proves to be slow, and if the most satisfactory results are realized only on a limited scale.

The correction of superstitious tendencies must be kept constantly in view. There is a tendency among the negroes to transfer into their Christian associations that superstitious element which is an integral part of the native African life, as, in fact, it forms a part of the life of all undeveloped races, and of the ignorant sections of the more advanced races. In the West Indies this often takes the form of expecting miraculous healing through the application of some crude medicament, or the drinking

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of some bush water, or the bathing in some stream which has been blessed by a native prophet or preacher. These various operations attract large crowds, and are usually accompanied by prolonged religious exercises. Such things are frequently pointed to as evidences of the deep degradation of the negro. But I have often publicly called attention in Jamaica to the fact that these practices do not differ essentially, or even in most of the concomitants, from what is to be witnessed even yet at sacred shrines in European countries, or in the temples of the Christian Scientists in America. The uncultured negro needs to be taught how to co-ordinate faith and reason. He has superstitious tendencies to overcome, in the class of cases just indicated, in which the superstitious element intrudes into crude forms of Christian teaching and worship; and also in the class of cases in which there is in great strength or, in more attenuated degrees, a belief in, or a fear of, those darker superstitious practices which are the remains of the inherited traditions of old African superstitions.

Another primary matter is the inculcation of moral principle and practice as an essential part of the true religious life.

As regards the American negro, I once had the following experience. In a Southern city I was waited on at the hotel by a minister of religion, who was the editor of the ecclesiastical section of a leading Southern daily paper. After the editor had been supplied with the information he desired, he was then asked in his turn to give information on various points specified, with a view to ascertaining the conditions of the inner life of the bulk of the religious negroes of the South. He said, among other things, that he had a thorough knowledge of the facts as regards his own section of the Church, which has a large following of negroes in the South, and also as

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regards other Churches; and he summed up what he had to say on many points by this statement: "The bulk of our negroes, who are members of Churches, are only just beginning to learn the first elements of Christianity, and many of them have not yet begun to learn them."

It is one of the causes of the imperfect religious development, and the slow progress in Christianity of the black people in the Southern States, that religion has been presented to them in forms which have largely failed to lay a basis of sound religious knowledge and Christianity. The teaching has not been calculated to set forth and impress the Bible rules of conduct, the moral requirements of the gospel, and the nature of sin. There is a story which, as to its form, may be imaginary, but which, as to its substance, is an apt illustration of the difficulty to be overcome in order to bring the direct moral teaching of the Bible in contact with the life of the negro population there. The story is that a negro preacher was inviting a Southern planter to the Sunday service at which he was going to officiate. The planter said he would willingly come if the preacher would take for his subject the question of fowl-stealing. The preacher replied that personally he would be willing to do this; but he could not undertake to discuss that subject, for if he did, it would bring a great coldness over the meeting and damp the enthusiasm of the people. It is very likely that preaching of the type adapted to deal with the prominent moral failures in any community would, in the first instance, have the same result; there is always the temptation to the Christian preacher and teacher to avoid unpleasant subjects. Faithfulness, however, requires that this temptation be not yielded to. Nevertheless, the wise method would appear to be to begin actively in the moral training of the child at the earliest possible time, carrying it through the whole of

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the education period, and thus laying the basis of those appeals to conscience and duty which the preacher can continue in later years.

There is a special need for the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, not only to learn those lessons which the history of all Christian effort in the South teaches, which have just been alluded to, but also to realize how, with due adaptation of the system of the Anglo-American branch of the Church to the requirements of the negro, and sympathetic treatment of him, our Church in America has great capacities for helping the negro, and developing in him the highest type of Christianity.

As regards the British West Indies and some of the other islands of the Lesser Antilles, such religious and moral development as has been achieved is the result chiefly of efforts made by the various forms of British Christianity. And the efforts made are not unlike the methods of work carried on by various Churches and religious agencies in England and Scotland. It is often assumed and asserted that on the moral side these past missionary and pastoral efforts have largely failed. The facts are sufficiently grave to cause anxiety and serious questioning as to possible improvements in methods of work for the future.

But in regard to moral conditions among the Christianized negroes, there are some important facts to be considered in order to form an adequate judgment in the case. The rate of illegitimacy is high throughout the West Indies. It varies considerably between one locality and another. The average of illegitimate births is about 60 per cent. per annum. Taking the circumstances of Jamaica as affording a fair indication of average results under average conditions, the following matters should be borne in mind:—

(1) It is only during the last seventy years—that is,

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since the abolition of slavery—that any facilities for creating, legalizing, and guaranteeing a true and permanent family life have existed among the black people.

(2) The existence of so small a proportion as 40 per cent. of children born in wedlock is a clear gain for Christian morality in two generations.

(3) Not more than half the population is effectively reached by religious and educational influences, and there are no other agencies in existence tending to promote the general morality.

(4) The immoral or unmoral conditions chiefly prevail among the section of the population just specified. The members of Churches are not all immaculate; but when they are found guilty of immorality they are excluded from membership, and an endeavour is made by discipline and teaching to secure reformation.

(5) There has been, in the day schools generally, a considerable amount of religious teaching; but the tendency, in the multiplicity of other subjects to be taught, and in the loosening of the connection between the religious denominations and the schools, is to diminish the religious and moral quality of the teaching and influence, and to accentuate the historical and literary qualities of the teaching. In seeking to promote the development of the race, the religious, and particularly the ethical, element in education requires to be constantly emphasized. The value of such teaching as can be given by special use of the Church Catechism, or by the Jamaica Day School Catechism in supplementing the ordinary Scripture lessons, is not, as some suppose, that you are seeking to dispense with the spiritual methods and power of the Church in promoting the religious life of the people; but such definite teaching helps to furnish the groundwork of spiritual effort that may reach some pupils in later years. It informs the mind and impresses

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it with the moral requirements of the Bible in a form that can be easily remembered. It helps greatly to furnish that which all Christian preachers and teachers can work upon, and appeal to, and develop in their later teaching. If these combined methods are made general, rightly used, and steadily and increasingly persisted in, they will greatly help to form what a thoughtful coloured man of Jamaica, long since dead, described as the need of the black people—"a New Testament conscience."

There are several islands of the West Indies the early settlement of which was under French or Spanish Colonial rule, and where French or Spanish is the language spoken by the negroes as well as other natives. In these the early training in Christianity has chiefly been Roman Catholic, and the best hope for these islands would be the extension therein of intelligent Roman Catholic mission work, on lines from which the superstitious elements of European and Central American Roman Catholicism would be excluded, as is largely the case in their work in Jamaica. It is greatly to be regretted that in those islands of the West Indies just referred to, where the Roman Catholic Church is paramount, or even in the exclusive possession of the opportunity of missionary work among the people, that Church has apparently not tried on any scale sufficiently large or effective to elevate, intellectually or morally, the people of the black race. This is a remarkable failure to adjust effort to opportunity, when it is realized that in such places the population is large and the Roman Church has full scope; and that, on the other hand, the earnest efforts to increase its membership in places like Jamaica can become successful only or chiefly by withdrawing individuals from relationship to other Christian bodies to which they are more or less attached, and from the religious training which they would receive from them.

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As regards those West Indian Islands where political control is nominally or really in the hands of Americans (Cuba and Porto Rico), American Christians should, and we may hope will, meet the needs of the black people. And it is possible that the Americans of our own Church and others will gain experience in their island-work among negroes, which will show the way to new possibilities of successful work among their own Southern negroes.

So far as Christian work in West Africa is concerned, the bishops and clergy and other missionaries must know much more than I know about their own work—its difficulties, needs, and hopes. But nevertheless, the words of an onlooker, who is a sympathetic student of their special problems, may not be valueless. They, working among a people who have not passed through the severe teaching, training, and discipline of American and West Indian slavery, will have to lay double stress on the training in intelligent labour concurrently with the teaching of morals and religion. Centres of such combined teaching as are to be found at Hampton and Tuskegee (U.S.A.) might well be established in most regions of the Southern States and the West Indies, and they are a still more urgent necessity in Africa. And as to moral instruction, including Church discipline, the ministrations of our brethren in Africa ought to be increasingly emphatic in these directions. The following quotation from the pastoral of six West African bishops of our own communion (three English and three African), adopted at a conference held at the beginning of March, 1906, is a pathetic manifestation of the sorrows of these fathers in God over lapsing converts, and of tender interest in their spiritual welfare, and of faithful witnessing to the truth instead of hiding unpleasant facts:—

"*Illegitimacy.*—Consideration of this subject has revealed a painfully low standard of morality amongst

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Christians. Illegitimate births grow steadily in number, and withal we have to report a loss in the Christian community of that severe sense of social disgrace which formerly was associated with illegitimacy. The authors of such births commonly comport themselves nowadays as if they have nothing to be ashamed of, and appear to be utterly lost to all sense of the dishonour and the serious disabilities, legal and otherwise, which they inflict upon their unfortunate offspring.

"Whilst we have no desire to impose punishment upon the innocent issues, yet we feel it is imperative to mark illegitimacy as an offence against the Church, an affront to public morality, and a sin against God.

"We also desire to call attention to the fact that premarital chastity and purity, which public native opinion held in very high esteem and most jealously guarded, are fast losing such esteem amongst Christians; and we would most solemnly and earnestly call upon parents and guardians, and all Christian people, to realize what a sacred responsibility lies upon them in connection with this condition of things, affecting as it does the welfare of the Church and the nation."

As a pendant to the foregoing quotation the following from Colonel Ellis may be quoted, clearly indicating the immoral position in regard to sexual relations of the unchristianized native African:—

"An unmarried girl is expected to be chaste, because virginity possesses a marketable value, and if she were to be unchaste, her parents would receive little or no head-money for her. A man who seduces a virgin must marry her, or, if her parents will not consent to the marriage, must pay the amount of the head-money. In the latter case, her market value having been received, any excesses she may commit are regarded as of no consequence."

Here words of encouragement to our faithful African chief pastors, and other labourers in Christ's vineyard whom they represent, will not be out of place. Let them

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not lose heart. Let them rather reflect that the apparent loss is not all loss. The premarital chastity and other satisfactory features of the former heathen life of their converts were not based on moral conditions and considerations, or a sense of the sin of unchastity. They were the result of tribal laws based largely on financial considerations. Freedom from the old conditions has been followed by a laxity which is to be deplored. The old law has gone. Christian morality has to take its place. There will be some bright examples of Christian life, based on the higher level of purity, sought and followed for Christ's sake; there will be some who will attain some considerable status in Christian morals, influenced by the sense of this being now thought right by the best people, though they are hardly convinced of the necessity; and there will be many failures to realize the Christian standard and act up to it. Full success needs the grace of God and sound teaching and training and time.

There are two important things ever to be borne in mind, one or other of which is generally omitted in discussions such as that with which we have been occupied in this article. When the Christian statesman, or the Christian missionary or pastor, is forming his estimate of his work and of the future of the Negro people, he needs to consider these two facts, and find the true place for them in his estimate. One is the power of the grace of the Holy Spirit acting on the human heart; the other is the gradualness, and indeed the slowness, of the general development of the races of mankind, even under favourable circumstances. The usual operations of the forces and tendencies thus specified is that individuals of a race are, by circumstances which often cannot be traced, prepared at an

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early stage of the Christian mission both to receive the faith and to co-operate with the grace of Christ; and within a lifetime there is, in the case of many such, a wonderful development of Christian character and approximation to the high moral standard of the New Testament. These are firstfruits, but the harvest is not yet. These constitute the leaven which will influence the lump, but the lump will be leavened gradually. We have to trace the process of development of the British people through many centuries, and we must also be willing to allow hundreds and even thousands of years for the uplifting of the masses of the African race to the full standard of the Christianity of Christ. For our own guidance and comfort we must combine the lessons furnished by the Book of the Acts of the Apostles, and by the history of the nations, and of the Church through nearly two thousand years of the Christian era.

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# APPENDIX I

HAVING read many of the following books as they have issued from the press from time to time, I have had in mind the information they contain, though not often directly quoted; others have been referred to by name. In some cases the references have only been second-hand:—

1. Reports and other publications of S.P.G.
2. Reports and other publications of C.M.S.
3. Reports and other publications of Wesleyan Missionary Society.
4. Reports and other publications of various other English, Scotch, and American missionary societies on sections of the subject.
5. Articles in the *Outlook*, New York.
6. Bishop Ingham, "Sierra Leone after a Hundred Years."
7. St. John, Sir Spencer, "Hayti, or the Black Republic," "The modern languages of Africa."
8. Simpson, T. M., "Six Months in Port au Prince."
9. "Stanford's Compendium of Geography and Travel: Africa." Edited by Keith Johnston.
10. Du Chaillu, Paul, "Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa."
11. Kingsley, Miss Mary, "West African Studies," and "Travels in West Africa."
12. Livingstone, David, "Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa."
13. Stanley, H. M., "Through the Dark Continent."
14. Buxton, T. F., "The African Slave Trade."
15. Pullen-Burry, Miss B., "Ethiopia in Exile."
16. Du Bois, W. E. B., "The Philadelphia Negro and the Souls of Black Folk."
17. Sinclair, W. A., "The Aftermath of Slavery."

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18. Washington, Booker T., "Future African Negro," and "Up from Slavery."
19. Ellis, A. B., "The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of Africa," "The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa," "The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa," "A History of the Gold Coast of West Africa."
20. Hoffman, F. L., "Race Tendencies."
21. Tillinghast, J. A., "The Negro in Africa and America."

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# APPENDIX II

After making notes of the outline of this article and of the various views I had arrived at, I put the question which constitutes the thesis of this article to several thoughtful clergymen and laymen, each of whom has wide experience and intimate acquaintance with the black people of the West Indies. The first answer which I received I quote nearly in full as follows, believing that it will interest those who read this article, and that the view expressed is deserving of consideration :—

"It may seem fatuous to deny the ground of a thesis because one is unable to discover or even invent one. But that is what I am about to do, and I therefore apologize in advance.

"Now, having thought over the subject of the special influence which the African race is likely to exercise on Christianity, I have been compelled to go into the assumption which underlies the question.

"I first of all ask, is there any differentiating moral, or social, or intellectual characteristic in the African race, which it can impart to Christianity? In other words, is there anything it possesses that our religion has not already in the fullest measure? Or, to put it in another way, is there any analogy between the undeveloped condition of Christianity, when it came into contact with the Aryan races (the Greek, the Roman, the Teuton—the two former in a high state of civilization), and its present state of growth, when it is meeting and gradually converting the uncivilized and savage peoples of the Dark Continent? I here put into form the reasons which constrain me to conclude that there is no material for influencing Christianity in the genius of the African, and therefore *ex nihilo nihil fit*.

"I at once put away the assumption that Christianity, as we possess it, came into the world fully armed, like Minerva, perfect in all its appointments, fully grown and endowed with all the faculties of the human mind, in their fullest detail. Like all God's creatures, it has grown, and, as consequence of that growth, has taken from its environment, at different stages of its development,

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power to exercise the faculties that are needed for its great work in the world of humanity. And it did this, not in magical or supernatural manner, but in accordance with the Divine order in Creation. There are not two creations; there is only one, and that is God's. Now, to quote from an illuminating writer, the religion of a given race, at a given time, is relative to the whole mental attitude of that time. A religious change is like a physiological change, of the nature of assimilation by, and absorption into, existing elements. Christ's religion was rooted in Judaism—that is, the religion of a Semitic race. A religion which, through the fruit of Divine inspiration, was yet in accordance with the genius of the race, and did no violence to the laws of God in man's nature. Now, this race was only a part of mankind, and could therefore only give of those qualities, which it possessed in a supereminent degree.

"Let me take a description of these qualities of the Semites from that very able but rather obnoxious *bête noir* Renan. 'Their religious feelings are strong, exclusive, indolent, and sustained by a fervour which finds its expression in prophetic visions, with a strong attraction towards the individual and personal, which makes them monotheistic in religion, lyrical in poetry, monarchical in politics, abrupt in style, and useless in speculation.' Born thus in a Semitic atmosphere, Christianity was sure to take to itself in its childhood the moral qualities of the race, and only in later years, under influences, did it shift its base of union among its members, from an ethical to a doctrinal ground; and move from ideas to the expression of ideas, from the prophetic to the philosophic. For the religion of Christ was to conquer the mind of the whole world, not only part, and to move Westward.

"But before teaching she had to learn how to teach, and there was no better teacher, with a wider experience in utterance, than the Aryan Greek.

"This was a people which formed a very treasure-house of intellectual wealth, having a long history, and evolution in the growth and expression of a very richly endowed mind. Nor had the Greek lost his mental force or his literary aptitude when Christianity swam into his ken. It took Christianity and gave it just that training in speech and thought which it needed, and which at that stage of its growth it was most fitted to receive, and transform by assimilation.

"The result was that the Catholic Church took shape, and was taught to speak in a coherent language; to put the instinctive emotional teaching of the Apostolic and subapostolic ages into such a form as suited the logical requirements of a highly intellectual world, and constrained its reverence and obedience, for Christianity was meant to take possession of the whole of man's many-sided nature, even though the process involved no little danger. It has not been all gain, that the base of union among Christians has been 'shifted from the ethical to the doctrinal,' or that the



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mysteries of Christ's nature have been defined with rigour in terms of Greek philosophy. We seem to discern a law in the moral world, that movement onward is always accompanied with some loss—at least, what appears to us to be loss. Rome had not so much to give to Christianity as Greece had; she dealt more with regiment, outward organization, appeal to the sense of ordination and co-ordination, in the human mind, and in a world such as the Church had to live through and influence, this was necessary. She needed the power which comes from shape, what we call definiteness, to enable her to stand four square to the northern blast that overwhelmed the civilized world. But she did stand, and helped to preserve much of the most precious things of the human genius which had been embodied in art and custom, all that the imagination of man had wrought out. Then came the Teutonic influence, and, though last, it is not least. We have not yet come to the end of that influence; it is moulding the higher mind of Christendom—indeed, it has been the instrument by which the smirch gained by the Christian Church, in its long struggle with barbaric force and unintellectual environment, has been partly wiped away. The Reformation and all its mighty results have been the reaction of the Teutonic mind on the Church, awakening the desire of freedom in the human souls. This has given strength to Christianity, and is gradually purging it of that magical, unreasoning element which has so long held the Christian mind in bondage. The deep instincts of the soul, regulating and energizing conduct—this, Christianity receives from its Semitic source; the power of expressing in order and logical coherence, the thoughts and highest motives of the human mind, came to her from the Greek; the rhythm and strength of law and order came from Rome; while the regenerating thrill of freedom came, and comes from the virility of the Teuton.

"What is left for the African that we can see? There may be something in the 'far-off Divine event, towards which the whole creation moves,' that the African may yet find his special place in, but we cannot perceive it. All the people spoken of have an intellectual, and moral, and social life, and therefore have evolved certain soul powers that were able to react on Christianity; but the African has given no evidence of originating power in his nature. Their very language, 'that storehouse of the accumulated experience of mankind,' is childish, inorganic, almost fluid. Their history, they have none, except what the child has: driven, directed, thought for by others, never able to take their faith into their own hands. If we apply to the Socialist axiom, '*from* him according to his capacity, *to* him according to his needs,' we shall very quickly reach the conclusion that so vigorous, hardy, well-developed a plant as Christianity has nothing to receive from so exiguous a source as Africa, and, after all, as there are the higher tribes that give, so may there not be those who only take?"

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The next answer which I received was as follows:—

"I think of the Negro race as of a casket with a quaint, unusual, and, in part, a repellent exterior. It contains precious things, but we have not, for the lock which secures it, the key which fits perfectly.

"To put it in another way, it seems to me that we try too much to influence the negro from the outside, with the desire to annex him, to make him conform. We would do better if we allowed that his individuality must ever be very distinct and separate from that of the European, and set ourselves to understand that individuality, accepting its idiosyncrasies not as merely temporary phenomena which we can smooth out of our way, but as there to persist, in their main features, as the distinctive features persist in the European nations. I think of the two races as two points on the circumference of the same circle. To reach from point to point across only serves to emphasize differences and separation. For real and permanent union we must travel from each point to the centre and meet there. Let us transfer our minds as well as we can into the negro's scheme of being, discover the paths that lead towards the centre, and, without trying to make them conform in appearance or grade to those of our own race, pass with him along these paths. Both of us are really travelling towards the same centre, though by roads very different in aspect from those of our own race. This is the base of my optimism regarding the negro. When I do not find what I expected, I say, 'The treasure is there, but the casket is locked, and I have not yet taken the right key.' When I am puzzled by not finding familiar moral landmarks, I say, 'The roads run through new country, but towards one centre. Let us push on.' The best qualities of every race, led through country however different, converge and at last meet. These roads under the shadow of dark African forests, they, too, will at length issue into the broad sunlit plains, and mount the table-lands to which

"'Our God Himself is moon and sun.'

With this preliminary statement I will try to answer the questions you put.

"To Christian belief, I think the negro's distinctive contribution will be his practically unshakable grasp on the truth that God is our Father. Of course the belief is not new. I don't mean that; but it becomes distinctive, and is asserted with new force by the negro's natural and unfaltering hold on it. It is strong in him, because it is not the result of headwork; and it is absorbed into his spiritual being. It is effortless, because it is instinctive. He believes, because he lives. He believes with his whole being. 'The rest may reason and welcome;' he knows. He belongs to God; of that he is sure. To that he naturally holds so fast that

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the strength of his belief is actually an obstacle in getting him to realize that he is a co-worker with God as well as a son. I have often been struck with the absolute sincerity and certainty with which the vilest among negro women, and the most ruffianly of the men, find it not only possible but natural and irresistible to trust that God will, and in a sense *must*, deal kindly with them, because they belong to Him.

"While it is soiled and obscured by ignorance, the very sense of the belief will at times put it right across the path of development; but as ignorance is replaced by knowledge, and as the belief is, so to speak, put into working order, we see more and more the advantage of its vital strength. Once let it cease to chain him down in fatalism, and it will be the noblest stay man can have.

"To Christian practice, I think the negro will bring a distinctively strong ability and tendency to recognize and appreciate the common human brotherhood, more frankly, generously, and naturally than ever before. For this he is prepared by the development of the emotional in his character, which enables him to seize great ideas though standing, for the present, somewhat in the way of his ability to work these out in every detail. It seems to me almost that he has been prepared for the realization of the human brotherhood by his history, which has brought him experiences tending to wean him from strong and definite national feeling, which, admirably as it helps men at certain stages, is certainly likely to stand in the way when the movement is begun towards that universal community of all human beings to which it seems to me that Christianity points as the highest development of human government.

"Put briefly, therefore, I answer that the negro's special contribution to Christian belief will be a reinforcement of the truth that God is the Father of all mankind; and to Christian practice his contribution will be a reinforcement of the truth of a common human brotherhood, which leads into the truth that the final condition of human relations is one of co-operation, not of conflict."

The next answer was in the following terms:—

"During the last forty years my mind has turned again and again to the subject on which you have written me—What contribution will the Negro race make to the world's religious life? . . . I find it impossible to believe that the race has nothing to contribute. I believe it has something, and will make its contribution if helped to do so. . . . I have concluded that the Negro race is providentially intended to emphasize an intuitive apprehension of the supernatural, and the place of the emotional in the religious life. Individuals of the Negro race have been strong in reasoning out their faith in the verities of religion; but the

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supernatural is peculiarly immediate to the apprehension of the negro mind. The supernatural is the atmosphere in which he lives, moves, and has his being. He has certainly the defect of his quality in a very marked degree—he believes too much, accepts too readily things and facts as supernatural which are not, and multiplies with a facile imagination beings to be adored and feared. He greatly needs to have this defect balanced by the reasonings of a more intellectual race, but not to be overdone; and the superior races need the negro's intuitive apprehension of the supernatural to save them from the mere deductions of a cultured reason, whose tendency is in the direction of a pure materialism.

"On the second point, which I have named, I may briefly remark that as the intellectual, the emotional, and the practical in happy and harmonious combination are essential to a well-constructed and completed religious life, I see in no race whose characteristics I have studied the emotional lodged to anything like the degree in which it exists in the negro. This, I am aware, has its drawbacks, its dangers. It often runs riot. It is often in religion regarded as an end in itself, and not the motive force to impel to right action. It needs to be checked, controlled, and combined with the intellectual and the practical. But it has a distinct religious value, and I think it is the negro's special mission to contribute this element."

I have inserted the foregoing opinions of representative men believing that the real usefulness and value of this article will be increased by the presentation of other experiences and opinions besides my own.

E. JAMAICA,
Archbishop of the West Indies.

Bishop's Lodge,
Kingston, Jamaica,
*August*, 1906.

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## III

# THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CHURCH OF JAPAN TO THE BODY OF CHRIST

By the Bishop of South Tokyo

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# THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CHURCH OF JAPAN TO THE BODY OF CHRIST

THE RIGHT REV. W. AWDRY, D.D.
BISHOP OF SOUTH TOKYO

THE following article was written in the summer of 1903, but as other sections of the projected book were not then ready it was returned to the writer to be kept up to date until required for publication, and remained in his hands until late in 1906, an interval which has covered the whole period of the Japanese-Russian War.

Upon consideration, it has seemed better to leave it in its original form, only adding footnotes dated 1906, in preference to either rewriting or extensively revising it; and this for several reasons. In the first place, rewritten work is apt to lose something of its freshness and singleness of aim; then, the amount of correction which has proved necessary in consequence of the recent momentous events affords a certain measure of test of the writer's judgment in what was written before; and thirdly, this method allows the reader to form his opinion upon data not of a single time only, but of two epochs, separated, it is true, by only three years, but by a great gulf if we consider the different position and influence which Japan holds among the nations of the world.

The paper is, therefore, left exactly as it was written in 1903, with the exception of some slight changes made on purely literary grounds, and a few corrections of errors in regard to details of Japanese laws and early history for which the writer has to thank the Rev. J. T. Imai, who has kindly looked through the whole.

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## CHAPTER I

### The Japanese People and their Environment

Personal appearance—Mental and moral characteristics—Position of women—Family council—Loyalty to institutions—Insufficient sense of responsibility — Geographical position—Climate and agriculture—Isolation.

It is difficult to write about the future characteristics of a race when it will, by the hypothesis, have been profoundly modified by the operation of external causes, such as long contact with foreign civilization and ideas, and the gradual adoption, for gradual it must be, of many of them, and notably of those religious usages and ideas which are the most profound of all. Such writing may seem presumptuous, for it is in the nature of prophecy, and prophecy of a peculiarly difficult kind. It needs must content itself with broad outlines and generalities; and must acknowledge that apparently small deviations from what is anticipated may alter the whole of the probable outcome.

In the case of Japan the uncertainty is even greater than usual, because of the extraordinary rapidity with which the Japanese have achieved far more than a veneer of Western ideas and customs, while they remain very inscrutable to foreigners in their inward thoughts, because of their unusual capacity for adapting themselves to the ways of the persons among whom they are living; so that a Japanese in the West may be just like a Western,

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but may return quite as a matter of course to the ideas and customs of his own country. Yet even under these conditions some measure of prophecy may be worth attempting.

Like the inhabitants of the British Isles, the Japanese are a people of very mixed blood, so that several types are more or less distinguishable amongst them. They are, or seem to our Western eyes, more alike than ourselves, only because the blonde and the sandy freckled complexions, the blue and light grey eyes, and the curly hair of Celt, Teuton, and Scandinavian are entirely wanting; so that in complexion they do not vary very much, however diverse they are in feature. About 15,000 of the aboriginal Ainu remain in the northern island, speaking their own language and keeping up, to some extent, their primitive habits; but as they will surely either die out or be assimilated to the dominant race, they do not concern us.

The main Japanese stock would seem to have come across from Northern Asia, but there is a blend of Malay, probably drifted northward by the ocean currents, and carried beyond Japan to the Kurile and Aleutian Isles and the north-west coast of America, where the build and features of the so-called "Indians" strongly remind us of the Japanese and not at all of the Red Indian further east and south. There is no doubt a small admixture of Southern Chinese blood, and one would have expected the Ainu, who must formerly have been spread over the country, to be as strongly represented as the Celt in England, but to judge from build and feature it is not so. The abundant curly hair of the Ainu could hardly have failed to be apparent if there was much Ainu blood in the race, whereas any trace of it is so rare that it is conspicuous whenever it occurs.

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The hair of the Japanese is almost always black, sometimes, especially in the higher class, suggesting through its intense blackness almost an undertone of blue instead of the undertone of red or brown with which we are familiar in the West. It is generally thick on the head, scant in the beard, rather coarse, and if not straight only very slightly wavy. The eyes are almost always very dark, and often prominent. There is often a puffy look round the eyes, due partly to this prominence. They do not open so wide as ours, and in some, but by no means in the majority, the opening is not horizontal.

The bridge of the nose is almost always low, and sometimes, especially in children of the lower classes, it seems to be absent altogether; but the actual form of the nose in the adult is not what we should call a snub, and in many of the upper rank it is more or less aquiline, but with a rather depressed look. High-class faces are often oval, especially in women, but not with the weak beauty of the regular oval which is characteristic of the Corean nobility. In fact, the Corean type does not seem to be much marked, though it is historically known that there has been some Corean immigration into Japan.

The mouths of women seem generally very small, but with men this is not so. Perhaps prominent teeth which are very common in men may be artificially reduced in women of the higher class, thus making the difference of appearance. The lower lip is often prominent, and though well-shaped chins are not uncommon, especially so far as I have observed towards the south-west, a chin so receding as almost to obliterate its characteristic form is often found under a prominent lip. The cheek-bones are often, but by no means always, prominent.

The hands and feet are usually small and very shapely till altered by rough use. The leg from knee to foot is

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very short, and rather short in the thigh also, while the body is much nearer to the ordinary length of that of an Englishman. The whole frame is short as compared with ours, but broad, and with proper food and exercise is well knit, strong, and capable of endurance. Mediæval armour bears witness to a decrease of size in the Japanese within the last few centuries, as in our own country it bears witness to an increase; but it seems plain that under better sanitary conditions an increase has begun in Japan in these last few years. We are told that the brain capacity is fully equal to that of Western races, judging by the size of the skull.

I would notice amongst mental and moral characteristics especially versatility and power of imitation; absence of habitual tension of the mind and will, leading to an easy acquiescence and giving up of effort in face of temporary difficulties;[1] and in close connection with this an absence of despair, discontent, or disgust at failure or disappointment, leading to a ready resumption of steady work at the old task as soon as the difficulty is past; an almost childish curiosity and love of prettiness and of romance; intense patriotism and loyalty and obedience to law and custom; patient, uncomplaining endurance, except where an injustice, or rather an inequality or irregularity of treatment, is supposed; not a little suspiciousness behind a childlike simplicity; very widespread natural eloquence, coupled

[1] The past ten years, and especially the past three, have made a great change in this. The whole look of the common people is more alert than it was. They appear to be observing the things that pass before them with greater interest and more keenness. The lips, that used often to hang apart, are now generally closed. They began perceptibly to close in the early weeks of the Russian War. There is a far greater appearance both of decision and of sense of responsibility in face and bearing. Universal education has much to do with this, but the greatest educator has been the war (1906).

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with diplomatic power of keeping a secret by word and bearing; an apparent lack of sensitiveness to pain, which is surprising when considered with their acute observation, accurate imitation, vivacity of mind, and almost exaggerated sentiment for honour according to their national ideals, and love for beauty in flower, landscape, and feature. One would have supposed that these various forms of sensitiveness to pleasure could hardly have grown up without bringing a corresponding sensitiveness to pain of every kind, but perhaps the key may lie in the fact that their ideals are conventional rather than spontaneous, and their courtesy has its roots in ceremonious custom rather than in sympathy; while their remarkable kindness to children and to other living creatures, unless some definite occasion leads them to an opposite line of conduct, seems rather to arise from natural happiness and an easy-going and kindly disposition, which likes to live in a happy world and sees no reason to interfere with other people's whims and wishes, than to be connected in any way with the idea of duty. Some of these characteristics will appear contradictory. I can only say that they are national characteristics, and that they co-exist.

We must note also the position of women in the thoughts of the Japanese, and the ideas and usages in regard to marriage. These are partly peculiar to them, and partly common to them with all the East, and they can often be illustrated from the West also. Any one who knows what marriage was among navvies before the "Navvy Mission" took the matter in hand will not be surprised at a condition of things in which, along with monogamy, a vast number of "marriages" are socially recognized, and on a very different moral level from mere cohabitation, but are not legally valid and are broken off almost as easily as made, the separation often implying

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little or no fault and leaving little or no stigma on either part, so that it constitutes no bar to a second, third, or even a fourth marriage; though this kind of lightness is not approved by society.

Monogamy is a reality in Japan, so that the offspring of the one wife could not be set aside without very grave offence to the relations and to public opinion, unless there were strong and valid reasons. Yet concubinage as well as fornication of married men is very common. The former till 1899 was recognized by law, and though the new Civil Code does not exactly recognize it, yet there are marks of it there, due to the probability that a man who has no son by his wife will adopt his son (if he has one) by a concubine in preference to any one else, and make him by adoption his wife's son to be his heir, rather than look elsewhere for some one to carry on the family.[1] The Japanese wife is expected to receive courteously her husband's concubine if he brings her to his house as a guest, but he would be thought inconsiderate in doing so; and it does not seem that it would ever be considered right for a concubine to live in the home.

As regards fornication in married men, it is a thing which ought not to be. It meets with some social disapproval. But perhaps the most radical change which our Lord introduced into the conception of marriage was when He said, "He (the husband) committeth adultery against her (the wife)." In Japan, as almost everywhere outside Christendom, marriage is not as between the sexes on equal terms. The sin of the unfaithful husband (if indeed he can be called exactly unfaithful for it) is not the same as that of the unfaithful wife. Indulgence of a married man with an unmarried woman is not regarded as adultery. Indulgence with a married woman

[1] "Shoshi," concubine's child, is distinguished from legitimate and natural son in the code, but the concubine is not mentioned.

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is adultery, but against her husband, not against either of the wives.

Again, in Japan, as in the East generally, adoption is exactly equivalent to birth. There is no difference whatever between adoption and lineal descent; so that, for example, it never enters into the mind of an ordinary Japanese to consider whether any of the links through which the present emperor is the direct descendant of the founder of the dynasty, Jimmu Tenno, in B.C. 660, and so of the gods, were made by adoption or not. But in this case it is felt to be certain that the adoption has always been from among those of imperial lineage.

Yet the position of women in Japan is better than elsewhere in the East. Disregarding for the moment the humbler classes, in which the wife as a breadwinner is fairly on a level with the husband, and protected from his caprice by her value to him and by the ease of separation; in the higher classes also a woman has valuable rights. She cannot, under ordinary circumstances, be married or divorced without her consent, and that of her "witness" or "sponsor," and though this is rendered partly nugatory by the early age at which girls are betrothed (fifteen being the minimum age for legal marriage), and the sense of duty not to go against the will of the father or of the family council, yet there are cases, not infrequent, of refusal, and if the proposed husband were very unsuitable in rank, age, means, character, etc., the family council would support the refusal.

It is true that parents are accounted nearer relations to their children than husbands to their wives, and that a man does not "leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife," but brings his wife home to his father and mother; and from this important consequences follow inevitably. The mother-in-law is queen of the home,

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brings up the children, and can use the wife as a drudge if she chooses. And under these conditions it stands to reason that if the wife cannot get on with the mother it is the wife that goes, the artificial giving way to the natural relationship.

It may seem a small compensation, but it is something, as helping to secure the wife from being driven to seek separation, that she takes away with her all that is left of what she brought to her husband, and that her own kinsfolk have a recognized right to interfere, and may even be able to bring about a divorce, if she is ill-treated.

Nor is she secluded, nor when she goes out does she veil her face, though she usually is very domestic, and lives almost entirely in the house, going out to the theatre or to call a few times in the year, very quiet, expecting and claiming little or nothing of her husband's company, always ready to welcome him with a smile and wait upon him. She does not usually eat with him, or walk with him in the street. Men do not call on women, so that at home she has very little society but that of women and of those intimates who frequent the house.[1]

Obviously, the condition is very different from that of women in China, or India, or among Mohammedan peoples, and there is a starting-point in it for further freedom through education and the positions as teachers, nurses, etc., which are open already and daily opening more and more to women in Japan. The highest classes also have an increasing intercourse with the West, which makes it important that their wives should be able to take their place in Western society. For this the exquisite graces of the Japanese lady who keeps herself

[1] These customs are giving way rapidly in the classes which associate with foreigners (1906).



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simply for her husband when he comes home, and is shy and silent in general society, are insufficient; and if this is to be changed, the wife must be educated in such a way as to be more of a companion for the thoughts of her husband and his friends and guests than she has been hitherto.[1]

We have mentioned the "Family Council." This is an institution recognized by law, with great influence, but rather indefinite powers. It is closely connected with some of the most striking racial characteristics of the Japanese—characteristics which may prove perhaps to have more to do with the special subject of this chapter than any others.

The family council consists of persons appointed by a court of law from among the members of a family. The Civil Code determines what members of the family have a right to summon it, or to state their opinions before it; and its decisions may be appealed against to a court of law. Such matters as the placing of an imbecile or lunatic under restraint, the appointment of a guardian to family property, care of the property and business of a minor, etc., would come under its cognizance; and it will sometimes have to take entire charge when the head of the family is in any way incapacitated.

Thus the family is a unit, and the family means something wider than the married man and his children, or the members of his household. Other members of the family group have a right to be consulted, to expostulate, in some cases even to control what the head proposes to do, so far as it affects the family honour or interest. This

[1] The independent action of women of the higher classes has been immensely stimulated by the Russian War. They made a practice of visiting among the poorer soldiers' families, a thing quite unknown before, and are now conducting large works of charity, and even sometimes speaking in public for charitable and national causes (1906).

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power would come into play in case of an unsuitable marriage, especially of the heir to the headship, of a divorce, of disinheriting a son, of an adoption in case of childlessness, perhaps also of putting a son into a line of life unsuitable to his station, and many such things. Probably the head of the family could in almost all cases override the objections of the council, but at least they have a *locus standi*, and he must hear them. In some cases the family council could take the matter before a judicial tribunal for arbitration or decision.

The feeling for taking counsel with those who have an interest in the matter before acting is very strong in Japan, and our methods often seem to them convenient perhaps, but rude and arbitrary. Nor is this confined to family matters. The feudal lord had a group of persons round him who had a right to be heard. He might overrule them, and their loyalty was unshaken; but he must hear what they had to say.

Another matter in which the family as a unit is involved has an important bearing on the marriage law. If there are several sons, one will be chosen to carry on the father's family, while the others, if they marry and are separately registered at the public office, will found fresh families of their own. If there are daughters but no son, some one will be adopted to marry the daughter and take her name, and with her become the heir to the headship of her family. His position is not a very enviable one, because, though he is nominally the head, his wife and her relatives have large undefined rights, and it would seem that divorces are frequent in such cases, the man being divorced by the woman and her family.

But obviously, if a man who is prospective head of his family marries a woman who is prospective head of hers, on the death of the two fathers the two families would be merged, and thus one of them would disappear.

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This cannot be without public sanction. Hence it becomes necessary at once that the woman should renounce the headship and an heir be adopted, else the marriage would become null.

This sounds so strange to us that it is worth while to give a concrete case. A Christian Japanese was married to a Christian woman. He was heir to his father, and, I presume, the only son. The wife's only brother became a prodigal, and it was necessary to disinherit him and to find some one else to be the heir; she was the obvious person, and was so chosen by the family. At this stage the question was brought to me to know what must be done from the Christian point of view, for a divorce would become almost inevitable. I answered that such a position was impossible, and that either he or she should arrange for some one else to take over the headship of the family; and this was approved and done.

The extent to which adoptions, and changes of name, and arrangements for finding or changing the heir, occur in Japan is quite amazing to us, and is a symptom of very different fundamental ideas on social questions.

All this has a further bearing. To the Japanese the institution is more than the individual; and, provided it is clear that there is no differentiating against the individual, his undeserved suffering, amounting to practical injustice under the law, is borne with perfect equanimity by him and by his friends for him. It is the law, and there is nothing more to be said. It may need amending, but while it stands there is complete acquiescence and no resentment against it. Even in things so new and unofficial as Church matters, there will arise a ferment, and business cannot go forward at all, if it is supposed that So-and-so has been unjustly treated, often simply because not exactly the same has been given to all who were doing the same work. We refer to chapter and

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clause of our canons which rule the case, and the whole calms down without a word, and business goes forward as if nothing had happened.

The institution of institutions is the emperor and the country, then the father and the family; formerly there was the feudal nobleman among his retainers. Round the institutions all the national ideals took shape with a very high degree of romance and chivalry; and though *bushido*, "the way of the knight" (which was the name for this national idea of loyalty and chivalry), has gone out as a system, with the fall of feudalism and the introduction of matter-of-fact business ideas from the West, yet it remains a subject of all the best national legends, rousing the Japanese to enthusiasm and devotion as nothing else does, and colouring all their ideals. It may have been Quixotic, histrionic, tending in lower men to make swashbucklers, but it was generous to a fault and prodigal in self-sacrifice. Hundreds, if not thousands, would not survive their lord when he had fallen. His whole band of retainers would avenge him in an illegal way and die by their own hands unbidden, perfectly content to do so, because they knew that their act was a breach of law which demanded their death. Neither they nor others would disapprove the law or wish it altered, yet these men would be honoured as demigods for their act by law-abiding citizens; and to this day fresh incense is burning at the tombs of many such men whom the nation delights to honour.

These irregular outbursts have almost disappeared, but little as the Japanese likes army life, and bitterly sorry as he is when the lot falls on him for the conscription, in time of war not only does he show unfailing loyalty, courage, and devotion, but I have no doubt that the old romance of loyalty has such a hold still upon the people as to make many hope that death for their

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emperor and their country may fall to their lot.[1] In the relief of the Legations at Peking in 1900, the British troops came in first, for the gate opposite them was open. The Japanese did not follow through, but stormed the gate opposite them at a cost of 250 lives. This waste of life may have been bad soldiery, and will not be repeated, but we have never heard a murmur on account of it from the Japanese, either soldier or civilian. They would not have liked their general not to have given them that chance of death for their country.[2]

From this regard for the institution rather than the individual come many good things, such as readiness to obey law acting through its constituted authorities, judges, policemen, tax-gatherers, and the rest. The people discuss everything in and out of parliament with extreme freedom, yet there is no sedition; they may attempt monster deputations to make a petition which would be terrorizing in the West, yet they are quietly led home again by a few policemen.[3] Assassination even now may occur in the spirit of *bushido*, with an idea of the country's good; and if so, the doer will probably not attempt or wish to escape. The country is served. How should it matter what becomes of him, the individual?

For if care for the institution, or at least submission

[1] General Nogi, a typical specimen of the noblest of the old Japanese spirit, in reporting to the emperor the affairs of the army before Port Arthur, blamed himself, we are told, for the great sacrifice of life in that siege. We have not heard of a single Japanese who criticized him on this account (1906).

[2] The Russian War has shown to all the world that this is a true account of the Japanese spirit, while at the same time the value set on life has increased on practical grounds.

It is interesting to add that in the war with China in 1894 families said to their soldier members, "Go and kill;" this time they said, "Go and die" (1906).

[3] This is less true than it was three years ago, as the democratic spirit is advancing (1906).

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and loyalty to it, is a subject on which the Japanese have much to teach the selfish Western man, want of sufficient value set on the individual is one of their greatest national defects.

Part, at least, of the cause of this insufficient appreciation of the individual will become clearer when we come to treat of the religions of Japan; but the fact and the racial phenomena connected with it concern us now, and some of the ablest missionaries of longest experience in the country point out an insufficient sense of individual personality as the most serious defect in Japanese character. If such a statement came only from the diplomatic and mercantile community, it might be supposed to mean no more than that more care for power or wealth, more selfishness, in fact, was needed to rouse steady ambition, to stimulate in the race of progress, and call out the energies of the people. But when missionaries not merely endorse the verdict of others, but urge it as in their opinion a point which needs most earnest attention, it is plain that they view it not merely as a check upon national efficiency and success, but as a radical defect of individual character which stands in the way of the man becoming, as a man, all that he ought to be.

The truth is that we in the West greatly overrate the importance of the individual as compared with the body of which he is a member; we encourage self-seeking, because it is the most powerful inducement to energy; we separate the man as a unit, because that develops his power of will and helps him to stand alone. Must we not also add we think so much of accumulation of wealth as a chief element of power, that the qualities which tend to win in the race for wealth come to have a wholly fictitious value in our estimate of character? But exactly the opposite is the case in the Oriental, and perhaps especially in the Japanese. Peacefulness of life, not

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energy, is what he both enjoys and admires. Self-assertion and pushing are to him the ugliest of vices. A profession of humility, of his own utter unimportance as compared with others, is the habit of his talk. Time is not regarded as money, and is unimportant in his eyes He sees no reason for pushing his business beyond what his needs require.

At the cost of rather breaking the thread, it may be well to illustrate these opposite defects of East and West from our own experience in Japan. An English merchant indignantly argued with me against the laziness of the Japanese, contending that a trader's business was to make money, and that as whatsoever a man's hand finds to do he should do it with all his might, he ought, as a Christian duty, to make money with all his might. In contrast with this, the only Japanese shopkeeper in a place in the mountains frequented in summer by foreigners, had got hold of something so much approved that it was all bought up within a few days. On people coming to inquire whether he had yet got any more of it, he replied, "No. What is the use? It would all be gone directly." In short, such hurried trade was more bother than it was worth. He had quite enough to live upon.

In another case a missionary who (be it said) is doing very good work, took us to see an interesting and ingenious man, to whose workshop every curious and ingenious machine that needed explanation or repair in his country town was taken. My guide, missionary though he was, could not get out of his head, nor out of the expressions that he instinctively used, the idea that this clever tradesman and mechanician was to be pitied, "poor fellow," because he did not "get on." Yet, in fact, the man was evidently supremely happy, provided only there was something interesting on which to exercise his

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wits at leisure, not working against time. Would that this type were more common in the West! In Japan, however, where it seems to be the rule, except where Western influences have come in, that shopkeepers are in no hurry to sell their goods, and would certainly prefer being passed by to being hustled, this, though in itself anything but a fault, indicates the side on which a very widespread national defect of character is to be found.

If men think of themselves as ripples on the surface of a lake, which die out, leaving no result and having no continued existence, to be succeeded by other ripples equally transitory and unimportant, why should character be cultivated? What use is there in any strenuous effort after good? What becomes of personal responsibility beyond the narrowest limits? How natural is it that *Shikata ga nai* ("It cannot be helped") and *Kamaimasen* ("It does not matter"), condoning respectively the easy dropping of a purpose and ready acquiescence in evil, are among the commonest phrases on the lips of the people! What a vast difference the ingrained belief in personal identity, personal immortality, the responsibility arising from free will, and the eternal consequences of our smallest actions, would make to an intelligent people such as the Japanese!

It is just because the resulting change in their character would be so radical, that any prophecy as to what of their present characteristics would survive the change is so difficult and precarious. Yet it may be hoped that they would not wholly fall into the common Western mistake that "gain is godliness," and worldly success is a sort of virtue, and the power of making great expenditure entitles a man to great respect, especially if he does give a large sum (amounting to a small fraction of his property) to some good object, which so distorts popular estimates of value and character throughout the West. Here perhaps we have a clue to the contribution that Japan,

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when Christian, may make to the perfect lineaments of Jesus Christ as reproduced in His Universal Church.[1]

[1] Since the above was written in 1908, the change in the Japanese is amazing. I will not say the advance, for in some respects I do not think it is an advance. Energy in trade, the value set on wealth, the association of accumulating capital with patriotism, the economy of time, the development of a more expensive style of living, the wide extension of the sense of individual responsibility, and the dropping out from common talk of *Shikata ga nai* and *Kamaimasen*, are all conspicuous. Yet in these things, too, the lead is given to national thought by the emperor—the suggestion of what should be comes from above; and loyalty thus is part of the foundation of national money-making as well as of personal sacrifice.

Two striking facts are worth recording in illustration. About the middle of the war, the emperor issued an edict summoning to the colours the time-served men. Many of these men were not merely past the age at which they might be called out under the ordinary law for military service, but had actually done their service for the full term, served in the Chinese War, and received their discharge. They were just the barristers, doctors, etc., who had secured practices that would be broken up by their departure, the heads of business firms, the fathers of families whose children were coming on for education; yet not one single complaint of arbitrariness or inconsiderateness in such an order, not one claim of personal right as against the public need have I heard of, either from the press or from the individuals who suffered by it. (And yet, in these last years, one seems to be seeing the beginning of a tendency in individuals to make claims for themselves as against the state in a way hardly known in former times—a tendency to think more of the individual grievance and a disposition to side with the individual against the public authority, as though the latter were probably wrong.)

Again, at the close of the war, when the army was beginning to return, a proclamation was issued in which the emperor pointed out that the industries of the country had been fully maintained, during the absence of a very large percentage of the most able-bodied men of the nation, by those who remained behind; and it was urged upon the people that in the interest of the country those who returned from the war should not simply be merged in the nation, doing just what they had done before, but that their industry should become an additional source of national wealth and power by their taking up fresh work, industrial or commercial (1906).

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Not much need be said on the environment of the Japanese, but that little is interesting, at least to Englishmen.

*Dai Nippon* ("Great Japan") is the phrase used for the group of Japanese islands as a whole, almost exactly as "Great Britain" is used among ourselves. If we omit the northern island of *Yezo*, or *Hokkaido*, which is not yet fully occupied or developed, having about one million inhabitants on an area larger than Ireland, the group is nearly the same size (106,000 square miles) and has nearly the same population (43,000,000)[1] as that of the British Isles.

It lies at nearly the same distance from Corea, on the continent of Asia, as England lies from France. The harbours, and inland waters, and fisheries, with the thousands of hardy sea-going men which that industry produces, are very closely comparable to our own.

The inland scenery, indeed, and the cultivation depending on it, are very different. The conical peak of Fujiyama, in full sight of which we are writing, rising from the sea to its height of 12,365 feet, is the highest and most famous; but half a dozen peaks of the ranges which lie inland from it exceed 10,000 feet. There is no hill in Japan from which real mountains of some kind are not visible on a moderately clear day, and the hillsides are so steep and the mountain valleys so narrow that, while no pasture in our English sense of the word exists, the cultivable area is estimated to be no more than one-sixth of the whole. Yet off this small area and their fisheries the people have fed themselves, exporting till within the last ten years as much grain as they imported, besides not a little of the harvest of their seas. Nothing but the most patient persevering industry in a tillage, much of which is exceedingly disagreeable and laborious,

[1] Now 46,000,000 (1906).

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could produce such a result; and it can hardly be maintained, as higher wages and a brighter life attract the vigorous young people more and more to the towns.

Of late years mulberry plantations for silk have been creeping more and more up the hillsides wherever the slope is not too steep for soil to lie. If a rather more gradual slope will allow of it, the hillside is terraced to carry wheat or barley. Wherever water can be laid over it in valley or plain, it is more perfectly terraced to carry rice, with a subsidiary crop of wheat, barley, rape for oil, or something else, to be grown in winter and spring. Sugar-cane is a permanent grass and a more exhausting crop to the soil, yet in the little sheltered district between Mount Fuji and the sea, wheat or barley is sown in rows between the roots of the sugar-cane, and reaped at the beginning of June, about the time when the new shoots of the sugar reach the height of the corn.

But by far the most important crop is rice, sown in April, planted out by hand in May or June, and reaped in November. As rice is a marsh plant, it can only be grown where a few inches of water can lie over its roots. Hence, from June till November the whole cultivable area of the country must, if possible, be under still water. One result of this is that there are hardly any moderate slopes or undulating hillsides in Japan, as in this condition the land is almost useless. The plains and the bottoms of the valleys are flattened artificially wherever it is possible, and laid out in absolutely level terraces to the very foot of the mountains. The mountains drop abruptly into the dead level. The foot of the mountains is skirted with villages for miles together, and where the plain is too wide for the farmers to live at its edge, the wooden villages stand flat on artificial terraces of earth barely two feet above the almost stagnant water which is all round them. The temple with its grove, often of beautiful

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old trees, and the gardens of the farmhouses, redeem these villages from ugliness; but the effect on scenery, on average health, and on the character of the people and their labour, is, of course, very considerable. They spend, for example, a large proportion of their days labouring halfway up to their knees in mud and water under a blazing sun; and these men and women, except for some famous temple festival, rarely go beyond their village. Yet they do all this in full sight of glorious mountains, and with a strong patriotic sense of the beauty of their country, and with no small enjoyment of its gentler beauties, its flowers and trees, affecting their lives and arousing genuine emotion and sentiment.

As regards climate, rain may come at any season, as in England, but speaking generally, the three summer months are hot and very damp, so that everything becomes intensely green. So damp is it that shoes, books, etc., become white with mould in a single night. The autumn is fine, fresh, and sunny. The winter is like a typical English March, but the north-west winds of Japan are even more piercing and parching than English north-easters. During the winter the grass and everything that is not evergreen is dry, brown or grey, and brittle. Spring, beginning somewhere in April, is charming, but even more showery than an English April. Where all houses are of wood, and especially where stoves and fireplaces are used, as they are by foreigners in Japan, some disagreeable effects follow from the dryness of the winter and the damp heat of the summer. A door or window that will shut at all in summer shrinks in winter till the draughts come in freely all round it. No seasoning of the wood will obviate this. The Japanese themselves therefore depend on clothing more than on fire for winter warmth, even in their houses.

But the climate is not really unhealthy. There is, and

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must be, an aguish kind of malarial fever, but it is not severe. Dysentery in summer and consumption all the year round are the great scourges, and it is difficult to see how they are to be avoided, with the rice cultivation, on which the country depends, and the damp heat. The average level of health and vigour strikes one as low, but this is largely due to poor food, for the hard-working, out-of-door jinrikisha men, exposed to every climatic evil of heat and cold, feet wet with snow, bodies dripping with wet, sometimes from within and sometimes from without, but earning fair wages and spending them largely on food, are a stalwart and much-enduring class of men, always ready for work, or lark, or rest.

Epidemics such as plague and cholera threaten, and the climate would no doubt give them a good chance, but the care of the authorities and the stringent sanitary measures they adopt have as yet kept them at bay. On occurrence, for instance, of a case of plague, a cordon is drawn round the infected spot, and when things are ready the house, with all that can have been infected, is burnt and compensation given. In cases of less virulent infection, such as dysentery or typhoid fever, the person is removed to hospital at whatever inconvenience, the individual being sacrificed to the community, and not as with us, the community to the individual. It is better for all that one should be risked, and if only a small sum is available, and that is enough either to remove the public danger, or to give really good attendance to the patient, but not both, Japanese will all acknowledge that the interest of all is to be preferred to the interest of each.

But when speaking of the environment of the Japanese, the most crucial fact in that environment is the "silver streak" which has isolated and protected them, allowing them to live their own life, and develop their own national character, along the lines of their own choice,

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or corresponding to their own natural endowments, without pressure from outside. In this they resemble the inhabitants of our British Isles, but their isolation has been more complete. There has been no such event in their history for more than two thousand years as the ravages of the Danes, or the victory of William the Conqueror, or the successful revolution by the welcome from abroad given to William III. There has been the bringing of the wild north of the islands under the sway of the Japanese Government, but it was not, as with us, through the king of the north succeeding to the throne of the south. Most curious of all is the coincidence that they, like us, were attacked by an "invincible armada" from China, and with the same result. It was the famous Kublai Khan who, having conquered the Chinese and established himself in Peking, built a vast fleet to subdue the adjoining islanders some two and a half centuries before Philip of Spain made his attempt on England. His ships tried to land troops at several places, but were everywhere beaten back, and the stormy seas that wash Japan did all the rest.

There is, however, one vital point of difference between the position of England and that of Japan which, if it accounts for even greater immunity from attack and independence of national development, accounts also for even greater insularity and isolation, and for a comparative backwardness in material progress, alike in the accumulation of capital and in the matter of the useful as distinguished from the ornamental arts and industries.

The seas which wash the shore of England have from Roman times been a highway of the advanced or advancing nations; and the British Isles, through their Church, the alliances matrimonial and other of their sovereigns, and still more through the entanglements caused during a long period by their possessions on the continent of

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Europe, have been mixed up in the affairs, and have shared the growing knowledge, and have been exposed to the keen competition, of foreign nations. Those nations, too, were various. Frenchman, and Spaniard, and Italian, Dutchman, German, and Scandinavian were all well known to us, our rivals or our allies by sea or by land. The sea prevented their landing troops on our coast, but it did not prevent our landing troops on theirs, while in more peaceful ways we were in constant contact.

But omitting Corea, which has in the last two thousand five hundred years been three times invaded by Japan, and has never been sufficiently vigorous for any reprisal, there was absolutely no nation, except the Chinese, with any civilization at all within a month's sail of Japan; and China, unless we account the Tartar Kublai Khan as a Chinaman, has never been aggressive by sea.

Hence, Japan has hardly needed till the present generation to give any thought to dangers from abroad. Even in knowledge and art and religion nothing has come to Japan till A.D. 1853, except during the short period from 1549 to about 1620, which it did not invite. There was no country but China from which Japan could invite anything, and when anything did thus reach the islands there was ample leisure and opportunity for working it out along the lines of the national genius, but no need to work it out unless they were themselves disposed to do so. This leisure, this self-contained condition, and this total absence of foreign competition, are elements in the development of a clever nation which have gone to make the Japanese what they are found in the present generation: in some ways better, in some ways worse, but in almost all ways different from other nations. Industrious, yet not strenuous; a nation of artists, yet not reaching after large or high artistic ideals; remarkably obedient

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to law and authority, yet ready for every change; the pupils of the most stolid and immovable people of the world, yet themselves vivacious and volatile, romantic and fantastic in their ideas; they certainly offer a most interesting field for conjecture as to what they will become now that they travel in all countries, revel in every kind of new idea and invention, and enter with zest into every branch of that world-wide competition which is the most striking feature of our time.

China is left lagging behind in all but commercial business by her lively pupil, and it may well be that the pupil, which cannot quite despise her one agelong teacher, may do more than any other power, or than all put together, to take her by the hand and lead her into the path of progress, teaching those poor old joints to run once more.[1] For the joints are very, very old; but at the time of their prime they were at least as good as any then in the world. They were in their prime rather before the time of Solon in Greece, of Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon, at about the latest date assigned to Gautama Buddha in India. About the same is the traditional date of the beginning of Japanese history, the date of Jimmu Tennō, the first human Emperor of Japan. The early emperors are assigned such long reigns that we may pretty safely say that the beginnings in Japan were really a few centuries later than the culmination of China. What makes the culmination of China for our purpose is the teaching of Confucius, of whom more must be said in the next chapter.

[1] The process seems to be beginning with some vigour (1906).



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## CHAPTER II

### Japanese History and Religions

Foreign relations—Internal history—Feudalism—Arrival of Portuguese and Spaniards—The three great Shoguns—Beginning of present *régime*—Shinto—Confucianism—Buddhism—Christianity—Persistent effect of the early Roman missions.

Of Japanese external history there is scarcely any: nothing practically but peaceful relations with China, embassies from time to time, invitations to Chinese saints and sages to come as teachers to Japan. Relations with Corea of a different kind; an invasion and conquest of the country, perhaps half mythical, but leaving solid results in the theory that Japan had sovereign rights there; a second invasion and half conquest under Hideyoshi shortly before A.D. 1600. This was almost more truly a raid on a great scale than anything more. Hideyoshi always said he was going there to take command of it, though he never went, but he sent for the work his more restless feudal nobility, probably hoping to exhaust them with fighting and secure the succession to his own family. At that time the Japanese so harried Corea, and drew away to Japan so completely the intelligence and artistic skill of the nation, that it has been of no account ever since.

The relations of Japan with Portugal, with the Sovereign Pontiff, and, in a less degree, with Spain, from 1549 to shortly after the year 1600, had important political bearings, especially as leading in the end to that

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complete and deliberate self-isolation, which was not broken till 1853. During the interval the very limited trade which was allowed to the Dutch, under most humiliating conditions, had no historical importance, and left no results worth mentioning, beyond some use of firearms and some slight knowledge of Western medicine —the names of many drugs being to this day Dutch words transliterated.

A few salient points stand out in the internal history of the people.

In the earlier ages the mikados, or emperors, led their own armies, and were known, more or less, no doubt, by their people; but more and more they became puppets in the hands of ministers, who tended themselves to become hereditary, like the Mayors of the Palace in France. But in Japan the process was not at any point a supersession of the emperor and his family as the sacred heads of the people. Instead of this, the emperors were accounted more sacred, and as being more sacred, they were less seen, and became more absolute nonentities in the actual administration. They were the mystery hidden behind the visible government; and as, with truly Oriental acquiescence, they accepted this *rôle*, and allowed great families to govern in their name, so also the people, with truly Oriental acquiescence, were too reverent to pry into their seclusion, or express an opinion by word or act about what was going on in the sacred precincts of the palace.

Hence the dynasty survived unbroken, for it was a support, not a hindrance, to those who successively held the reins of power and authority. We in the West may naturally ask, "Was there never a man among the emperors who asserted his independence?" No doubt some may have wished to do so, but their court, the nobles of which ranked higher than any one else in the land,

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was dilettante, if not worse. An estimable emperor spent his time on poetry, art, or refinements of courtesy; a bad one, on coarser pleasures. Being a sacred person, he could not have hands laid upon him, but it was only natural that in due course he should renounce worldly things and give himself to religion, nominating a successor. If a Buddhist, he would shave his head, found a monastery, and live in it, surrounded, it may be, with the same indulgences as before, for no one would interfere with that. If, as emperor, he began to have a will of his own, his minister would hint that it was time for such retirement, and this hint came in some cases as early as eighteen or even fifteen years of age. During one long period, at least, it seems seldom to have been as late as twenty-five. He nominated his successor, perhaps a son or brother of three years old, and thus there might be many emperors living in retirement after abdication, while the emperor of the time endorsed all which his minister, not, be it observed, one of the court nobles, determined to do. There was, however, a determined effort on the part of the emperors to recover their power shortly after Yoritomo's time (the end of the twelfth century).

Outside the court there grew up a feudal nobility versed in affairs, one family or one person among whom was for the time the leader, because he had the sacred authority of the emperor behind him; but rivalry with him was not sacrilege. To his own vassals he was almost like a god, but not so to his fellow-noblemen, or to their vassals. In fact, the feudal system in Japan, rising independently, was far more perfectly developed and lasted far longer than that in Europe. It is regarded as coming to completeness under the famous Yoritomo in the twelfth century, and it was in full force, till broken down by the need of more compact unity in face of Western influences, at the accession of the present emperor in 1868.

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In some respects, the course of its development was not unlike that of feudalism in Europe. In England, however, the power of the king, who was never, except in Stephen's case, one of the feudal nobility, but in a class by himself above them, kept the petty wars of the nobility in check, and gave a certain power of united action to the nation. In Japan the feudal noblemen, or *daimyos*, were practically little kings, as they were in England under Stephen, each struggling to increase his territory and his influence by war and by alliances. From time to time a great man appeared, who obtained for himself a certain influence and control over the whole country, and, acting in the name of the emperor, brought a little more order into the administration;[1] but, on the whole, it may fairly be said that petty civil wars were perpetual till 1600, and that they ceased altogether from shortly after that date till the Western peoples appeared on the scene. During their continuance, it can hardly be doubted that if Japan had been within reach of ambitious neighbours it would have been as helpless to resist aggression as was France during the period of the English wars.

But China being the only neighbour, no foreign dangers did arise (except that from Kublai Khan) till the middle of the sixteenth century, when Portuguese, and, soon after, Spanish, ships appeared in Japanese waters. At first, they were welcomed for the trade they brought, and the Jesuit missionaries who came in their ships, and carried forward the work which St. Francis Xavier began

[1] The position of the shoguns was, in some respects, analogous to that of the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire in mediæval times. They were princes, with principalities of their own, chosen to preside over the other princes, with certain half-defined authority and awe attaching to them through their special relations to the sacred authority behind them, but depending for its maintenance on their power of making themselves respected, either by force or by diplomacy.

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in 1549, were willingly received as part of one and the same concern. Almost immediately, however, the foreign trade became a fresh cause of civil war. The nobleman to whose harbour the foreign ships came, derived great profit, and others became jealous. But when the Portuguese, who had first visited Kagoshima, in the province of the Prince of Satsuma, found Hirado, at the other end of the island of Kyushu, more convenient, and went there instead, the conflagration blazed up. Henceforth the Satsuma princes, the most powerful and independent in the land, were violently opposed to those who had thus secured the trade, and included in their hatred the religious preaching which accompanied the trade. Thus the missionaries became, whether they would or no, involved in the petty politics of the country.

Nor was this all. The Spaniards followed the Portuguese to compete for the trade. They also brought Spanish Franciscans and others, who competed with the Jesuits that came from Portugal. There were high words between the representatives of the rival nations, and unveiled jealousies between the rival messengers of Christ's gospel. The Japanese soon learnt that the Portuguese, and still more the Spaniards, were in the habit of first trading with and evangelizing, and then conquering and absorbing, the countries they discovered, and the loose talk of their officers and seamen did not veil the fact that the destiny of Mexico might be in store for Japan. Was not the Church in full partnership with this aggressive policy? Had not Pope Alexander VI. partitioned the heathen world between Spain and Portugal? Were not the missionaries his emissaries, subtilely preparing the way? Nay, more than this. A Christian nobleman of Japan had the power of the foreign Church behind him to support his cause. Ambassadors from some of these Japanese kinglets were

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sent to Europe, who visited the Kings of Spain and Portugal, but who paid homage to the head of their Church. One great nobleman even signed a document purporting that he laid his province at the feet of the Pope—the foreign potentate—to receive it back from him.

All this took place in the course of about fifty years, and (the northern part of the islands being unsubdued by the Japanese, and quite untouched by the foreigners) within the southern part alone the number of Japanese Christians who recognized the Pope as their head is variously estimated at from 500,000 to 1,500,000. Was not the situation really serious? How could civil wars be stopped in such a state of chaos? How could Japan be strong or orderly while it remained but half subdued? Or how could it regulate its own destinies whilst its several noblemen were bringing in foreign allies to strengthen them against their rivals, and whilst hundreds of thousands, an ever-increasing number, were owning spiritual allegiance to a foreigner, who was himself a temporal potentate, with authority over other potentates, and claiming a right to assign the world to whom he would?

Two things may be said. First, however little the missionaries may have been in fault, there is small blame to the Japanese for taking alarm, and thinking that, for the safety of the country, not only must (1) the country be brought under one government, and (2) the civil wars of the nobility be stopped, but (3) that for this purpose the foreign influence must be wholly excluded; and that this could not be done so long as there were any Christians of the Roman allegiance (and the Japanese knew no other) remaining in the land.

Secondly, the crisis was such as might well call great men into existence—greater than had usually appeared in the unambitious annals of Japan. Three such men

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did appear—all contemporaries as regards age, but succeeding one another as the leading power in the state; mutually acquainted, but not blood relations; very different in character and policy, yet all working towards the same three objects of vital importance to the country. Their names were Nobunaga (supreme from 1565 to 1582), Hideyoshi (1582 to 1598), and Ieyasu Tokugawa (1598 to 1616). The two first contributed their part to the work, but failed to secure the headship to their families. The third founded a dynasty of hereditary shoguns ("Tycoons," in the language of English books of thirty years ago), or commanders-in-chief. The last of these Tokugawa shoguns, Keiki by name, was removed from office by the present emperor on the advice of his counsellors, and is now a highly respected old gentleman, to be seen riding his bicycle in the streets of Tokyo, his son being chairman of the Upper House of Parliament.

We cannot go in detail into the history of these men, but of their characters, and the effect which they had upon after-times, a few words are necessary. One leading feature of each of the three characters is touched off in a Japanese epigram. Nobunaga says—

> "The cuckoo will not sing!
> Then I will kill it."

Hideyoshi says—

> "The cuckoo will not sing!
> Then I will make it sing."

Ieyasu says—

> "The cuckoo will not sing!
> Then I will wait till it does sing."

Nobunaga despised and savagely persecuted the Buddhist priests, but encouraged and coquetted with Christianity. He never pretended, however, to be a

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Christian. Hideyoshi issued edicts to expel the missionaries, and when the Franciscans, twitting the Jesuits as time-servers, defied his edict and held Christian festivals and processions in his capital under his very nose, he crucified six Christians, missionary and Japanese; but his edict was meant to be only *in terrorem*, if the Christians would but be quiet, for he kept a Jesuit as his secretary all the while. He employed Japanese Christians also in high positions, but in Corea more than in Japan. He seems to have felt that his Christians were his best men, but that they might become unmanageable, and it might prove necessary to get rid of them.

Ieyasu was perfectly calm and cold-blooded in the whole matter. He felt the absolute necessity of getting rid of Christianity for the success of his aims. He proscribed it, bribed and terrified leading men away from it, arranged all things so as to make the lot of a Christian exceedingly hard and degrading, and for those who would not yield he unwillingly began the work of the most refined torture and extermination, which his grandson, Iemitsu, carried as near completion as was possible. If the discovery of many thousands of concealed Christians in Kyushu, who had been waiting, generation after generation, in peril of death, and who recognized the French priests at Nagasaki in 1865 as what they were waiting for, did not provide visible proof to the contrary, no one would have doubted that Christianity had really been stamped out more than two hundred years before.

In other branches of their work the two first named had achieved considerable success. Japan was beginning to feel and act as one in face of the foreigner, and a strong hand was checking internal feuds; but in this, too, it was the waiting and thorough policy of Ieyasu and his grandson that completed the internal pacification, so that

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there was no civil war for two hundred and thirty years; completed the unification, so that Japan emerged as one country under one sovereign; and completed her independence of the foreigner by watching the coasts, forbidding all foreign travel or trade to Japanese, and all access to Japan from abroad. The only exception was that of the yearly Dutch ships which lay off the sandy flat of Deshima, with their sails and rudders removed till they had sold their goods upon the beach, sent one of their number, shut up in a closed palanquin under guard, to pay his homage and offer his presents at the capital, and were then permitted to depart.

The Tokugawa shogun was by birth no more than the head of the feudal nobility. He held his patent from the emperor. But in virtue of that patent, and by most able policy and astute organization; by maintaining the dignity of the nobility through an elaborate etiquette, while never being without hostages for their good behaviour; by wasting their time and resources in dignified frivolities, while being exceedingly severe on their interferences with each other; and by encouraging fine arts and literature for those of higher tastes, with the help of that Buddhism which has done little, so far as one can see, for the morals, but much for the culture of the nation; the dynasty of the Tokugawas managed to hold on its way, and to keep the reins in its hand, and on the whole to serve the country exceedingly well, till modern conditions forced Japan out of its isolation, and the old organization and policy became not only inadequate, but impossible.

Then came the great change of 1868, with the accession of the present emperor, which some call a revolution, and others a restoration. It is a revolution, if we regard a dynasty of commanders-in-chief, legitimately holding office from father to son for two hundred and

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fifty years, as having acquired a prescriptive right which cannot be arbitrarily swept away; but the form which the process took was that the emperor said, "I shall no longer depute a member of this family to govern for me. I shall take the reins of government myself," and thereupon went from Kyoto, his old capital, and established himself in Yedo (which then changed its name to Tokyo, or the "Eastern Capital"), whence the Tokugawas had all along administered the government. Viewed in this way, which is, of course, the accepted way in Japan, the change was simply a restoration, or resumption of his powers by the emperor, who had always been *de jure*, and meant henceforth to be also *de facto*, ruler.

Such a change could hardly have taken place without bloodshed; too many old rights and customs were suddenly broken down, and too many persons found their position radically changed by no fault of their own. But the civil war was short and not very bloody, and reprisals were very few.

If it is asked how it was that such a system collapsed so easily, the answer is twofold. First, very new conditions needed new men and new measures. But secondly, the time was ripe, and the old system and its officers were effete. The system was essentially military, though it served also for police and for administration of justice. But the soldiers might not labour or trade: it was beneath them. They were maintained, most of them very poorly, out of the rice paid as tax by the farmers. A military class, even though it be encouraged in culture and chivalry, must deteriorate if it has for seven generations no military duty whatever.

The external and internal peace sapped the quality and energy of the ruling class. No important and difficult duties pressed upon the noblemen, who therefore frequently left their duties to others, and became feeble,

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if not debauched, themselves. A sort of quixotism, and the observance of a fantastic code of courtesy, custom, and honour, occupied the time and thoughts of the soldiery who had nothing to do. Those of more refined tastes became literary and artistic, or merely sentimental and romantic; the rougher sort became swashbucklers. The total result as a process of deterioration became not unlike the two extremes in the decay of feudal chivalry in the West, which are represented by Don Quixote on one side, and the robber-knights of the Italian hills, pictured for us in "I Promessi Sposi," on the other. The ideal of Japanese chivalry, called *bushido*, was certainly very high, but without the opportunity for exercising the sterner and more strenuous virtues of the soldier, how could it fail to become fantastic and unpractical? and thus, though courage, loyalty, patriotism, and the martial spirit were there in abundance, for practical purposes in time of stress, they proved utterly inefficient, and the whole system fell to pieces.

Some notice of Japanese religions, especially as affecting ideals and character, is necessary; but the subject is too long to be dealt with in a publication like this, and for further information the reader must be referred to books and articles.[1]

[1] The fullest treatment of the subject will be found in Griffis' "Religions of Japan." The articles by Sir Ernest Satow, in the early editions of Murray's "Handbook to Japan," now probably scarce, are excellent. Cobbold's little book, "The Religions of Japan" (S.P.C.K.), is a convenient summary, interesting but not deep. An article in the *Asiatic Transactions*, vol. 22, part 3, by the Rev. Arthur Lloyd, with other things from his pen, such as his poem "Nichiren," approach sympathetically, and yet, unlike Sir Edwin Arnold's works, truly and sanely the character and influence of Japanese Buddhism. The Rev. A. Lloyd was chosen by Mr. Kuroda, one of the few really learned and high-principled Japanese Buddhist priests, who, recognising the

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To begin with "Shinto." The word means the "Way of the gods," or "of God." In origin it would seem to have been a nature worship, in which the worship of the origin of our life, *i.e.* worship of ancestors or of the sovereign, is a large part, at the present day the most living part, in Japan. For though the sun, "Taiyō-Sama," the great mountains of Japan, the fox as the emblem of good luck and of plenty, with the *Yaoyorodzu no Kami* (literally, 8,000,000 gods), get their measure of reverence, of offerings, and of pilgrimage, and show the multitude of aspects of nature and its powers that have called for consideration and attracted worship to themselves in past times, and still are recognized with all the paraphernalia of religious rites; yet it would generally, we think, be acknowledged that loyalty to the emperor, and in a less degree dutifulness to parents, are almost the only traits of value connected with the traditional Shintoism of Japan.

The practice of washing out the mouth and pouring water over the hands, and of offering the brief prayer, *Harai tamae, kiyome tamae* ("Vouchsafe to drive away [evil] and to purify [me]"), as a preliminary to all special prayer, bears unmistakable witness to a time when the thought was living that without holiness no

thoroughly corrupt condition of Japanese Buddhism, yet enthusiastically believing in the religion, are working for its reformation, to translate for him a tract of 41 pages, "The Light of Buddha," largely distributed in the Osaka Exhibition of 1903. The same Mr. Kuroda wrote a tract of 27 pages for the Chicago Parliament of Religions (1903), which was endorsed by the heads of all the important Buddhist sects of Japan. These two tracts are of the greatest value, representing Buddhism as those who believe in it and wish to propagate it would present it to the world at the present day. A short article by the Rev. J. T. Imai in the *South Tokyo Diocesan Magazine* for April, 1903, on the present influence of the old religions in Japan, is of quite exceptional value on the question how far they may be regarded as dying.

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man must come before God, though for ages the usage seems to have been nothing but a form.

Shinto has no literature and no teaching, and practically little or no relation to morals. The symbol, however, in every Shinto temple is the mirror, which is intended to represent holiness, purity of heart—God, as the reflection of the essential image of the soul. Indeed, among those who profess to desire a combined religion for Japan, it is customary to say that the "pure heart" of Shinto, the "illumination" of Buddhism, and the "love" of Christianity are at the bottom the same. Yet a revival of it would be little more, so far as we can see, than a more perfect observation of the ceremonies. The character of those ceremonies and the Shinto architecture are more pure and simple than those of Japanese Buddhism, and for this reason they appeal more to the taste of the cultured classes.

Moreover, the Tokugawa rule had associated itself intimately with Buddhism, so that the restoration of the emperor to power naturally put Buddhism somewhat out of fashion, and brought forward Shinto, in which the emperor himself was the principal object of a religious veneration indistinguishable from worship. Before this, however, towards the end of the Tokugawa shogunate, there had been a revival of Shinto, which was one of the causes leading up to the restoration. At this moment, though the constitution of the country expressly declares all religions free and equal before the law, and says that the acts of veneration paid to the emperor's picture, etc., are not the worship of a god, but may be regarded as historical and loyal customs, yet those acts on occasion of the emperor's birthday are, as we have seen with our own eyes, unmistakably religious in character, and must be so understood by all who have not been taught otherwise; and, so far as any one is attempting to revive

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Shinto as a power, this is done by associating, not love or respect, but rather awe, with the thought of the emperor.[1]

It is an interesting fact that in the ritual formulated at the command of the present emperor for the marriage of the crown prince, the chief feature of the ceremony is the introduction of the lady to the shrines of the imperial ancestors into whose family she is to be admitted, and of course she pays her homage and makes her offerings to them there.

In the house of a Shintoist the figure, whether doll or picture, representing the emperor, will generally be seen on the "god shelf" side by side with the family ancestors, and lights and evergreens, and perhaps incense, will be there upon occasion.

From this close analogy between the father of the nation and the father of the family, we have ventured to class the two together under Shinto. But, in reality, the educational, social, moral, and political power which has linked them together and gives them permanence is Confucianism. Shinto claims to be the primitive religion of the Japanese, not introduced from anywhere, though in fact, however many peculiar features it may have developed in Japan, it is akin to what is found in many other nations. But the doctrines of Confucius and

[1] There appears to be a revival, perhaps intentional in the highest quarters, of Shinto ideas. Not only did the despatches of the generals and admirals during the war uniformly ascribe their successes to the virtues of the emperor, but the emperor's own announcements ascribed them to his ancestors, and at the close of the war the leading members of the imperial family went in state to the ancient imperial shrines to make their acknowledgments, and the emperor instructed his leading generals and admirals to do the same. The commemoration of those who fell in the war took the form of homage paid to their spirits with incense and offerings in a Shinto temple by the emperor in person and the people, high and low (1906).

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Mencius were confessedly imported from China at an early date. From the early days of civilization in Japan down to the present generation the text-books on which the Japanese have been educated were the "Chinese Classics," consisting almost entirely of what Confucius taught or collected for editing fully two thousand five hundred years ago. The Japanese could use no other books as text-books, for they had no other books to use. Almost the only indigenous literature was poetry, and the characteristic Japanese metre is so short, a sort of sonnet of seventeen or of thirty-one syllables, that it could express little but pretty conceits suggestively or epigrammatically stated. "The hundred songs" are taught to Japanese children, who keep up the memory of them by playing a game of quotation with them at the new year. They talk of the cherry-blossom, the moon, the nightingale, and of love; but if they have any educational, moral, or real literary value it is not such as to make earnest-minded Japanese care to talk much about them to foreigners. Of every other branch of literature, Chinese is felt to be the most dignified vehicle. The higher the style, the more Chinese it becomes. To write a philosophical book in pure Japanese would be the same kind of thing, but far more difficult and out of keeping than to reproduce "Paradise Lost" in pure Anglo-Saxon. Some Japanese proverbial expressions have come through Buddhism, and these also have the terse gritty Chinese for their vehicle; but most come from Confucius, or perhaps from his successor, Mencius. These are the things engrained in the Japanese mind.

Now, the Confucian system is not, and never professed to be, a religion at all, nor, so far as we are aware, has the worship of Confucius or Mencius come with their teaching into Japan; but the whole system is a matter

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of morals and propriety resting upon the five relations between man and man in the following order: (1) Parent and child; (2) sovereign and subject, under which would be grouped lord and vassal, and probably teacher and scholar; (3) husband and wife; (4) brothers in order of birth; (5) friends. The virtues corresponding to these five relations are: (1) Reverential duty; (2) loyalty; (3) concord; (4) peacefulness; (5) straightforwardness. It will be observed that no duty from parent to child, or from husband to wife, is referred to. It would have been unbecoming to speak of these things. The good man will be a considerate father, no doubt, but there is no formal claim upon him. That a boy has, without a word, cut out some healthy portion of his body to be given cooked to his father, who was suffering in that part, is an heroic piece of filial duty to be proclaimed by imperial edict throughout the empire of China for admiration and, it may be, for imitation. The ideal, so far as the boy is concerned, is indeed heroic; but what of the fathers who, from age to age, could tolerate as the ideal such a one-sided view of duty? Is it surprising that though in refined Japan, which shrinks from what looks coarse and disgusting, this form of filial duty is not found, and would not be reproduced in literature or in art; yet less sickening forms of the same self-devotion on the one hand and selfishness on the other, reappear with admiration for the sacrifice, but with no censure for the selfishness. The father of that Chinese boy would be on a pinnacle of honour for having begotten such a son; he would be pitied for having lost him, and there it would end. That any idea of fault in the father who brought up that child, or in the system which thought such a crime worthy of worship and imitation, should enter the head either of the father or of the public is in the highest degree unlikely. A case of this kind has



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occurred in China within the last two years, and has been recommended to the emperor for public recognition by the most enlightened viceroy in the land.

The corresponding theme of high-souled romance, far too common in Japan, is when the old father, unable to earn his livelihood, accepts, sadly no doubt, his daughter's offer and takes her to a public place of prostitution, receiving for the sale of her body what is to become his maintenance. She is honoured for her sacrifice, and he is praised for having such a daughter, and pitied for having thus lost her presence from his home; but no thought of blame attaches to him for having allowed her to do such a thing on his account; and when, as in one story, a highwayman catches him on his way home, and leaves him as penniless after the sacrifice as he was before, the sympathetic pity for him knows no bounds. Of course Japan is awaking from this, nor can it be denied that from one point of view the ideal is heroic; but such, on the three sides of parent, of child, and of public opinion, is the working out of the Confucian system, in which the Japanese are steeped so far as their gayer, more easy-going, natures will take the dye.

Confucius, like Epicurus and others, was much better than his system. He would have admired such acts in others, but never, we think, would have allowed them for himself. He was as much held by conscience to higher duties of an almost spiritual kind as if he had taught that there was a God in heaven. Perhaps he did believe this; but in his teaching he declined to look beyond the obvious practical duties of family, social, and political life. He would give no opinion about any strictly religious matter, such as the existence of God, or what lies beyond death. In place of God come in the customs of the good old days, and the Book of Ceremonies to keep the world from getting worse. His scheme was aimed at preventing

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deterioration through the growing laxity of two thousand five hundred years ago, and it has succeeded marvellously in producing stagnation, regarded as enlightenment and superiority to the rest of mankind, for all this time in China. But it was by its modest, practical, unvisionary character that it did this.

Confucianism did not spring from the soil of Japan, and does not well correspond with the genius of the people, though its influence on Japanese character and ideals could not fail to be great. Almost any other system, if the Japanese had had the choice, would probably have influenced them more; but they had not the choice. Nothing else was to hand for centuries, and Confucian ideas, as moulding Japanese family and national life, provided in a sort of way a practical philosophy for Shinto, on the only side on which Shinto seems to be a moral influence at all.[1]

The history and influence of Buddhism is, in many respects, different. It came into Japan from China, it is true, like everything else; but it came later. The supposed date of its entry is not earlier than the sixth century of our era. It was superposed upon the existing

[1] We have been furnished with the following note by the Rev. J. T. Imai (1906):—

"*Confucianism and Shintoism.*—The former no doubt supplied the philosophy and ethics for the latter. But at the Shinto revival the promoters of Shintoism began to review the other very closely, and criticised its democratic nature. The three ideal king-sages of Confucianism handed over the throne, not to their own sons, but to a wise sage subject. The motto was, *Tenka wa ichinin no tenka ni arasu. Tenka no tenka nari* ('The under-heaven [country] is not one man's, but of the under-heaven itself [that is to say, of the people itself']).

"It is pointed out that Tokugawa's great patronising policy in favour of Confucianism was for this spirit, but the Shinto revival during the later shogunates brought forth the other spirit, that the country belongs to the emperor (the one man)."

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religious and ethical systems in vogue in Japan, but coming from the same source, or rather through the same channel as they, it made no attempt to dispossess them.

As this is a difficult thought to Christian peoples, but is perfectly natural in the East, it may be well to say a few words on it, for the misapprehensions on the subject are important. The great monotheistic religions—Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism—are necessarily exclusive. The adherents of the later of these religions may acknowledge the earlier as true but preparatory, and they may recognize that God, as worshipped by all, is in idea the One, Infinite, Eternal, Almighty, All-wise, All-holy, Spiritual Being, though differently and either mistakenly or inadequately apprehended by adherents of the other two religions; but each religion is none the less exclusive of the others. A Jew cannot be a Christian, nor a Christian a Mohammedan, nor a Mohammedan a Jew. Still less can any of the three belong to any other religion, for there the very idea of God is almost totally different; and if the religion be polytheistic it is in a real sense atheistic to a monotheist, for there can be no one Being in it that has what to the monotheist are the most essential attributes of Deity. Hence we of the West naturally assume that a person who is attached to one religion can belong to no other.

But this is not at all the case in the East. Practically every Chinaman is a Confucianist, and though Confucianism is hardly in any strict sense a religion, yet it takes the place of religion for its adherents. Out of these hundreds of millions of Confucianists, a good many tens of millions are Buddhists also. In Japan, by imperial order, all temples and churches have been registered within the last few years. This caused great trouble and some confusion, for no temple could be registered as belonging to two different religious bodies Each temple,

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therefore, had to choose whether it would register as Shinto or Buddhist, for there is probably no Buddhist temple of any importance which does not contain some Shinto shrine, and a vast number of temples, primarily Shinto, contain Buddhist elements. The Shinto priest is distinct from the Buddhist priest; the Shinto object of veneration from that of the Buddhist; and the architecture of buildings designed for either is easily distinguished, but the Shinto shrines, led up to by the characteristic portal called Torii, nestle sometimes in considerable number under the shadow of the Buddhist temple, and Buddha sits grave and gentle on his lotus somewhere about the precincts of many a Shinto place of worship. Of the people, one will say, "I am Shinto," and another, "I am Buddhist," but this probably has more to do with the claims upon them for temple maintenance than anything else; and most persons enter upon life with a Shinto ceremony, and are buried at its close by a Buddhist priest. As there is no idea of one God in either religion, and nothing much to be in earnest about, there is nothing to cause jealousies or combats. The various Buddhist sects are far more exclusive of each other than any of them are of Shinto.[1]

[1] We append the substance of a valuable note on this subject by the Rev. J. T. Imai (1906):—

"There was great rivalry between Shinto and Buddhism till the great priest Kukai, better known as Kōbōdaishi, promulgated the theory of reincarnation (or, more literally, of different revelations of one deity), and taught that the Shinto deity, Amaterasu Omi Kami, was the same, under a different aspect, as Dainichi Nyorai (one of the Buddhas), etc. Having succeeded in thus unifying the objects, no difficulty was felt.

"Then when Tokugawa Iyeyasu, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, with that famous priest Tenkai as his private counsellor in government, learning, and diplomacy, patronized Buddhism in order to counteract Christianity, Buddhism took advantage of this, and the great mixture of Shinto and Buddhism was effected.

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For Buddhism, in Japan at least, is quite as much broken up into sects as Christianity can be, and many of these sects are of Japanese origin. The jealousies between them are often bitter, and their characteristics correspond so closely with those of some Christian sects as to show that the source of these divergencies must lie largely in human nature and tendencies rather than in abstract truth. There is, for example, the Jōdo sect, which makes much of antiquity and traditional usage, and dwells on the saving power of simple faith in Buddha without works; the Tendai sect, given to austerities; the Shin sect, which encourages private judgment, and reformed the morals of the priesthood by allowing priests to marry; the Nichiren sect, emotional and unconventional, which is noisy in its worship, like the Ranters.

As a religious or moral power in the strict sense, Buddhism has not been, or, at least, is not now, very great in Japan. In the first place, it is primarily a philosophy, not a religion. It leads through abstract thought to enlightenment and so to freedom. The abstract thought deals with causation first, and causation is for the Buddhist philosopher a matter or thing which has to do with phenomena, and phenomena are but ideas of the human mind. There is no concrete fact behind them. Nay, the mind itself, or the soul, is not an actually existing thing. To grasp this by meditation, so as to recognize effectively the unreality of appearances, is illumination. The person thus illuminated is, of course, unaffected by that which, as he has discovered, has no existence. Hence he is free.

Now obviously this is wholly unintelligible to ninety-nine-hundredths of mankind. It is a philosophy for the

This lasted till the early part of Meiji (the present reign), when the reinstatement of Shinto led to the removal of a vast number of Buddhist images from Shinto shrines."

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leisured contemplative man, not a gospel for the simple. Hence Mr. Kuroda, in the more recent of the two tracts to which we have referred, after devoting thirty-five pages to the philosophy of Buddhism, finds himself constrained, as his purpose is a missionary one, to show that the masses also can find their salvation in it, that the knowledge of the philosophy is not necessary to salvation, and in the last five pages he recommends, in accordance with the tenets of his sect, invoking the Buddha under his title of Amida, with a proper disposition of mind, as in itself ample and adequate for salvation. Those who go to temples to "behold their devotions" know well the sound of the "Namu Amida Butsu, Namu Amida Butsu," repeated *ad infinitum*; words which are mispronounced Sanskrit expressions from the Buddhist Scriptures. Popular Buddhism is thus wholly removed from scientific Buddhism in Japan, and having, as a religion, no *raison d'être* in the country, either by origin or by any suitableness of its pessimistic view of life to the light-hearted, easy-going nature of the Japanese, it has been immensely changed in the process of time. Instead of being superior to the gods, it is extremely superstitious and idolatrous. Its priests, unless they are much belied, hold their influence through threats of hell, or rather purgatory, to which the doctrines of *Karma* and transmigration of souls readily lend themselves; their intervention being needed or very desirable to shorten the hideous and weary succession of rebirths through which at last Buddhahood may be reached. The temples harbour other gross superstitions—magic and fortune-telling, and the like. There is Binzuru San, the Æsculapius, whose figure sits rubbed away more than St. Peter's toe in Rome, by those who have come to rub that part of him in which they themselves have an ailment, and then to rub themselves, spreading the diseases which they hope to heal. There,

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too, as guardians at the temple gate, are the *ni-ō*, "two kings," huge and as hideous as they can be made in staring red and green, one with a lightning flash and the other with the wind in his hand. Huge straw sandals are hanging up as votive offerings before them, and their bodies are all plastered over with the paper prayers which have been chewed and then spat at them, with some hope, if they stick, that they may be answered.

But though, as a religion, Buddhism in Japan has left all its best elements behind, and has adopted all kinds of superstitious and degrading ideas which do not properly belong to it; and though, as a moral power tending to sympathy and mercy there is little to place to its credit, except a refusal to destroy life even when a poor mangled animal is writhing in hopeless agony, and in moral matters the Buddhist temple schools are bywords for what is unclean; yet the gifts of Buddhism to Japan in other ways are great. The Buddhist philosophy may be in the clouds, and, so far as it has a religious side, may be pantheistic, tending to sink the individual in the mass as a ripple is but part of the water of the lake, indistinguishable from it except so long as it continues a ripple; though it may thus depress energy, discredit active self-respect, and minimize responsibility, yet it has been the only philosophy of the country, the only thing to call out the powers of abstract thought. Again, Confucian, not Buddhist, books were the standard works for general education, yet it was Buddhist priests who generally gave the education. The whole of the older Japanese education seems to have been due to Buddhist teachers. The Chinese mode of writing may now be a great barrier in the way of the progress of Japan, but when the Buddhists came over and taught it, it was the only writing possible for the Japanese, and in several respects it is a very powerful instrument of education. Buddhist temples and

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ritual may be florid and showy, often crowded with things which, side by side with Shinto simplicity and modest perfection of form, look gaudy and trumpery; yet almost all the art, as well as the literature and education, of Japan came through the Buddhists, and the greatest part of it is now to be found in their temples.

An interesting little illustration of the influence of Buddhism on Japanese art is to be found in the Torii, or Shinto portal. In pure, unaltered Shinto its lines are straight, and there are no words upon it. Where Buddhist influence has been admitted, the top line is a beautiful curve, and there is a plaque with a motto at the centre.

One last point may be mentioned. Were it not for Buddhism, the vista of a learned Japanese would have ended in China. He would have seen and known of nothing beyond. As it is, India, the fount of Buddhism, loomed dim and vast and distant on his view, seen as a land of mystery right across the Chinese Empire, as the Himalayas might sometimes be seen from the plains of India across the foothills. The Japanese outlook was certainly larger for this vision than it might otherwise have been, and Buddha in Japan sits, with his oval features, and drooping ear-lobes, and curly locks, and the jewel on his forehead, an Indian, not a Japanese, nor yet a Chinaman.

As regards Christianity as a religion of Japan, there is little that it concerns us to say. To the present day it is essentially the "foreign" religion in the popular mind. It comes to them with the many things, good, bad, and indifferent, which reach them from the West for acceptance, rejection, or adaptation. They think of it as a thing of which the good points, and especially the moral force, may be utilized to raise the criminal classes, to give better ideas of honesty in trade and still more in public

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office, to mitigate the evils of education destitute of a moral basis. Or they think of it as aggressive, exclusive, and masterful; as anti-national; as creating discord and inconvenience in families; as interfering with free natural development along the line of the national instincts and ideals; as requiring much modification to suit it to their needs; as childish in its philosophy and belief in the supernatural. Buddhism, too, is "foreign," they know; but it is many centuries since foreign missionaries were among them to propagate it, and those missionaries did not push themselves in; they came by invitation, and their doctrine has already been modified to suit Japanese ideas, while their coming has left marks in philosophy and in art which are a glory of their land. Japanese Buddhism may be the daughter of Chinese, and Chinese of Tibetan, and Tibetan of Indian Buddhism, but she has long been independent of her parentage, and has gone her own way, though not at all disowning her ancestry.

The case of Christianity is different. Welcomed at first in St. Francis Xavier and his successors, it yet came uninvited, and it was, as we have seen, tangled up with trade and politics in a manner unfavourable to the internal peace of the country, and seeming to threaten it with foreign domination. Though it prospered and spread widely in the last half of the sixteenth century and a little beyond, influencing the highest circles quite as much as any other, yet it cannot be said to have left any mark on national as distinguished from individual character. Indeed, "perversity," as not falling into line with other religions, and with blind obedience to government, and denationalizing tendency leading to popular fear and hatred, were the ideas generally associated with it in the popular mind.

On the Christians themselves the effects were, of course, far more powerful. The fact that the Roman

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Church, for moral reasons, dared not ordain to its celibate ministry any Japanese but the descendants of the old Christians of two hundred and fifty years before, until it had a third generation of Christian blood among its modern converts, is eloquent as to the moral seriousness and stamina introduced by Christianity.[1]

But in truth it is not the influence of Christianity upon Japanese character which is so much worth recording, as the evidence which the history of Christianity in the islands affords of the existence of a strain of persistent toughness in Japanese character, alike in the higher and the lower classes, for which the nation gets little credit in the Western world.

As the result of a steady and remorseless policy, carried out actively for two generations, and passively, when the active work was done, for seven generations more, Christianity appeared to be quite stamped out. The pressure of penal laws, the exclusion of all foreigners

[1] The following statistics of the Roman Church, from the *Japan Weekly Mail* of August 8, 1908, will illustrate this. It should be observed that the vast majority of the Christians of old times were in what is now the Diocese of Nagasaki:—

| | Dioceses. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Tokyo. | Nagasaki. | Osaka. | Hakodate. |
| No. of converts | 9551 | 39,095 | 3900 | 4643 |
| ,, bishops | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| ,, foreign missionaries | 35 | 32 | 28 | 23 |
| ,, Japanese priests | 4 | 25 | 2 | 1 |
| ,, ,, evangelists | 22 | 185 | 40 | 20 |
| ,, baptisms, adults | 695 | 578 | 228 | 175 |
| ,, ,, children of converts | 202 | 1437 | 81 | 58 |
| ,, adults baptized at point of death | 318 | 626 | 331 | 385 |
| ,, children, ditto | 416 | 180 | 94 | 121 |
| No. received from other sects | 6 | 1 | 5 | 2 |

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and execution of any who would not leave or who crept back to Japan, the most awful tortures of those Japanese Christians who were staunch, ingenious and protracted to the utmost in order to intimidate, the wholesale slaughter of the remnant when at last, in 1637, they were goaded into armed resistance; the patient and successful watching of the shores for two centuries and a half to prevent the landing of a foreigner or the egress of a Japanese, the provision that women should be sent across to Deshima to a handful of Dutch sailors lest they should cross the narrow channel in search, and that any children born should know nothing of their parentage; the laws which calmly sacrificed Japanese wealth, and especially the wealth of the upper class, to Japanese independence of all foreign entanglements by forbidding any rig but junk rig, and any junk large enough to go upon the ocean; the posting of notices by authority in every town in which "the perverse religion of Jesus" was proscribed in the same category with murder and adultery, with sedition and conspiracy; the provision of Christian emblems to be spat or trampled on where suspicion rested on any individual, and the responsibility for each other's good behaviour of all the group of adjoining families;—these things, and such as these, bear witness to a steady persistence in one policy of the rulers of the people at any sacrifice through eight consecutive generations.

Through the changes which have revolutionized everything in the past forty years, there has been the same patient, untiring, unbending forward movement for good or evil; mostly, we think, for good on the part of the real leaders of the people. The masses may cry now this, now that, and minor politicians may be self-seeking and unstable, going with the cry; but before long they look to their old leaders again. And those leaders may be entirely opportunist like Marquis Ito, or men of stiff

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principle like Count Okuma, or may involve themselves in affairs and methods which bring to them little respect; but when the tide of popular feeling is against them they hold their tongues, and when the stress is past they say and do just what will carry the country along the line of progress at which they have consistently been aiming. It may be that what they say or do changes with the circumstances, but the drift and aim of their policy is quite unchanged, and in any great national crisis they would not merely sink their differences and their interests and act together, but we believe they would never dream that anything was their interest which was not for the public good.

In the previous period there was a consistent policy of keeping at all costs clear of the world's race; there is now the persistent purpose, having entered on the race, to do all that is possible to bring their emperor and their country to the foremost place in it. It is possible, of course, that rapid change in all things great and small for a whole generation may make the generation that has grown up amidst the changes incapable of bearing the dulness of a steadier advance; but certainly, not love of change, but consistent following out of a settled line of policy, is the underlying characteristic of those who most command the confidence and wield the power of the nation.

But if this is so in the governing classes, what of the nation whose destinies they guide? There is every external appearance of fickleness, of secret schemings, of mutual distrust, of dishonesty in things commercial; and at this moment, though there is abundant evidence of a determination on the part of the Government to put such things down, there is corruption disclosed among officials of all grades, so widespread that the difficulty in combatting it and in properly filling vacated posts may prove very serious. Only recently a person who,

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though a paid official, may best be compared with the lord lieutenant of a county, was sent to prison for receiving bribes in connection with the choice of educational text-books. He had been sent to replace a man whose complicity in the same scandal had come to light a few months earlier.[1] Yet side by side with this untrustworthiness and lack of moral earnestness, who can deny that there both has been and is, somewhere among the middle and lower classes of Japan, a great toughness of moral fibre when, notwithstanding all the rigours of the government, thousands, perhaps even tens of thousands of Christians, from the beginning of the seventeenth century, without teacher, without book, in daily peril of death if discovered, had held fast to the little they could hand on by memory of Christian doctrine and practice, teaching some one to baptize and to instruct in what they had remembered of the Roman Catechism through eight generations, and watching and waiting for the return of teachers from the West?

How they recognized and sprang forward to greet the French priests at Nagasaki in 1865, eight years before it became lawful for a Japanese subject to be a Christian, is the most soul-stirring story in Marnas' "La Religion de Jésus résuscitée au Japon." Hardly less touching,

[1] The "text-book scandal" referred to above, is, so far as I can understand, completely a thing of the past, trenchantly and successfully dealt with. Corruption in office in Japan is singularly small in its range, especially when we consider the smallness of official stipends. In these and in similar matters the heart of the nation and of the Government is absolutely sound. The state leads, not, as in the West, follows, private opinion in moral progress. But the individuals look to the state to lead, and consequently they follow it as its ideals rise.

Thus in financial matters, Government pledges are absolutely trustworthy; great international firms follow in the same line, and there can be little doubt that the private firms and individuals are fast catching the spirit of this general rise (1906).

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and quite as much to our purpose, is the further story how through this impolitic eagerness of theirs the Christian villages became known to the authorities, and between 1869 and the end of 1872 more than four thousand heads of Christian families were deported to other places in Japan, and treated with such rigour that when the edict of toleration came in 1873 more than twenty-five per cent. had died. These were villagers, farmers, and fishermen, wholly without social leaders.

Though there may be many disappointments, many half-hearted Christians in Japan as in England, is there not something yet in the Japanese blood which can rival upon occasion the heroes of the ancient Church, and make us pampered and self-approving children of Christendom blush with shame at the thought of what might happen if such tests of firmness were applied in Christian England? We have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin.

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## CHAPTER III

### Missions to Japan

**Roman missions in the sixteenth century—At the present day—Mission of the Orthodox Church—Non-episcopal missions, Baptist, Congregationalist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Salvation Army—Missionary comity.**

Enough has already been said, it is hoped, about the struggles and hopes, the successes and disappointments, of that marvellous missionary effort which began with St. Francis Xavier in 1549, and was crushed for political reasons in the first twenty years of the following century, to send readers to the books which tell the story.[1]

As regards the methods of the Roman Church, thus much may be said.

The pains taken in oral instruction were immense, and so were the sacrifices made by the noble army of missionaries and martyrs. It was the fault of the times rather than of the men that during a short period of influence in high quarters they approved of the savage persecution of the Buddhist priests by Nobunaga, that

[1] Probably the Letters of St. Francis for the origins and the condition of Japan at the time, the parts of Charlevoix' history (French, from the Jesuit point of view) for the course of the mission, and Marnas' "La Religion de Jésus résuscitée au Japon," are the best works on the Roman mission. Marnas begins with a short sketch of the early missions, and notes carefully every scrap of knowledge we possess, and every effort to effect an entrance during the period when Japan was closed to foreigners; but, as the title of the book shows, his main topic is the modern missions.

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they opposed to pre-existing religions, not sympathy with what was good in them, but the thought that they came straight from the devil, and most of all where they had the greatest likeness to Christianity; and also that the missionaries were entangled in local politics, and at least the Jesuits, in a less degree, in trade. It was the fault of their Church system that the connections with the Pope—a foreign sovereign—were such that Japan could not suppress its civil wars, or complete its unity, or maintain its full national independence, unless it destroyed that Christianity of which many of the best Japanese recognized the moral value. It was similarly the fault of the centralized Roman system that in the course of fifty to seventy years there were very few Japanese priests at all, and that even a foreign bishop of that communion hardly ever set foot on the coasts of Japan. The first of these two faults is partially, the second is wholly, absent from their modern missions. But a third, hardly less deadly, is still strong. The Roman Church would not trust Christians with the Bible in their own language. A catechism, and at least a part of the "Imitatio," and no doubt some other books, were issued from the mission press; but when the foreign teachers were removed and access to them closed, the descendants of the old Christians were dependent for all their knowledge on the ever-decreasing remnant of what had been orally taught from generation to generation. Even formulæ such as that used in Baptism, being in a foreign language, became more and more mispronounced, and less and less understood, till probably to most it became nothing more than a charm of mystic value, and a badge of admission to a religious freemasonry.

That the moral fruits of the mission were not all lost we have seen; but if the Christians had had a Bible throughout the time there might, no doubt, have arisen



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heresies and divisions, but they would not have been in the utter desolation of having nothing but their memories to trust for Christian truth. The power of approach to the fountain head for renewal would have had an infinite value.[1]

In most ways the present methods of the Roman mission are admirable; for instance, their quietness, due in part, no doubt, to the unpopularity and suspicion occasioned by their past history and the foreign centre of their Church; their poverty, their discipline, their persistence and ubiquity, without entering into controversy with other Christians. Or again, their high-class boarding-school in which parents feel their children to be morally safe; their care and use of the poor, the training of thousands of orphans and destitute in institutions where they imbibe Christian faith with their daily food; or again, their division of labour, by which specialists are trained and authorized for the various departments of work, so that some of them are much admired and resorted to, as thorough scholars in philosophy and science, by gentlemen of good position and influence. Their literature also is far more thorough and popular, and deals more effectively and rapidly with the religious and moral questions that the Japanese secular press is discussing than that of any other body. Of course also their unity of voice gives them a great advantage in the struggle.

But there is not perhaps a single one of these good points which has not in its train some measure of

[1] At the present time (1908) a Japanese version of the Holy Scripture, or large parts of it, is in course of preparation under the auspices of the Roman mission; but, unless Marnas' freely expressed distress at the free circulation of Bibles by Protestants is an idiosyncrasy, the old policy continues in Japan, and the Japanese version will not be for popular use.

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compensating disadvantage. There are, of course, no examples among their missionaries of Christian family life; their converts have not a high reputation as a body for Christian character: but are said to be less raised than others above the moral level of the unbelievers round them. Their secrecy of method perhaps creates against them even more suspicion in Japanese minds than there need be; and it probably is due chiefly to the care with which the Bible is kept from them that without, to our knowledge, any definite proselytism on the part of other Christian bodies, the leakage *from* them is so considerable as it evidently is. The "Nippon Sei Kōkwai" alone, though it certainly discourages proselytizing from any Christian body, probably receives from Rome annually more than the whole number which the Roman mission records as "baptized on being received from other Christian sects" in the course of 1902. There is probably a large leakage in all missions, and certainly in all missions in Japan; but the statistics published by the Roman mission, which are evidently compiled with most scrupulous care and honesty, seem to show, if we compare the total number of members of their Church with the baptisms (exclusive of those baptized at the point of death) and the annual increase, that the leakage from them must be very large indeed.

The contrast between the Roman mission, with its one hundred and eighteen foreign missionaries, and the Russian mission, with its one noble bishop working single-handed at preaching, instruction, organization, literature (including the translation of liturgy and Scripture), the father and beloved friend of all the converts, unable properly to supervise for the multiplicity of things which fall to him personally to do, is very remarkable. He stands alone among nearly twenty-five thousand Japanese followers, as shown by the statistics published.

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But it cannot, we think, be doubted that, though perfectly honest, these figures are largely in excess of the fact. Within our own experience the Japanese members of the "Orthodox Church," at least in the provinces, are often very loose in their attachment. Many certainly join other Christian bodies, and many lapse and slip out of the fold. Yet, in some years at least, a comparison of figures shows that the new total is reached by merely adding the baptisms and subtracting the deaths of the year. The fact is that Bishop Nicolai is far too busy to be able personally to watch over the correction of registers all over the country—a troublesome and disheartening work at best—and his fatherly heart cannot bear to order the erasure of the name of one of his children in the faith, without more evidence that he is really lapsed than is afforded by some years' silence in perhaps a very isolated place. Still, after all deductions, the work is a marvellous one and singularly blest. May God speed it still and send good assistants, and, when that day shall come, a worthy successor to the holy and noble-hearted bishop! His converts are everywhere, for Japanese are great travellers, but chiefly in Tokyo and the north; for it is in these parts that Bishop Nicolai has done his work for more than forty years.

Looseness at the edges, and want of vigorous stimulus, such as comes from visiting missionaries whose knowledge of Western methods, and whose perhaps too restless Western energy would keep things up to the mark, are, as we have seen, the weak points of this Church. Its strength lies in its bishop, its great central cathedral to which all adherents look, with choir-singing such as cannot be heard elsewhere in Japan, and a well-appointed seminary and schools all at the same spot under the bishop's eye, and in its ungrudging expenditure for publication. The bishop thankfully accepts the admission

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of members of his flock, who are out of the reach of their own pastors, to receive our ministrations, and there is full mutual regard and sympathy; but what may come when he is removed is very uncertain, the more so because, if the Roman Church in Japan is at a disadvantage through its foreign head, the Orthodox mission is unfavourably affected by its Russian source.

We have spoken separately of these two missions because they are very distinct from any others, and their adherents comprise a good deal more than half the Christians in Japan. In the non-episcopal bodies, although they fall into groups, there is far less that is distinctive in method and result, and in the main we shall content ourselves with quoting the leading statistics which they publish. They all, except one Scotch Presbyterian mission, hail from Canada or the United States, or else from Germany, Scandinavia, Switzerland, or Holland. Most of those from the continent of Europe are very small and unorganized, not attempting to found or support any particular religious body, but simply "to preach Christ." So far as we have seen, they show examples of singular devotion in the loneliness of up-country stations, but also of practical inefficiency, men and women being pitchforked, often with their families, into some spot where they receive their stipend, but otherwise shift for themselves as they can, both in living and in preaching. It may be Apostolic, but then St. Paul was a Roman citizen, and spoke to well-prepared members of a Jewish community and their hangers-on wherever he went. So far as our experience goes, a certain measure of general leavening with Christian ideas, and the example of a Christian life, are the principal contribution of these humble, kindly, and devoted people to the future Christianity of Japan. Such a contribution, with the constant upward flow of prayer, is not a small thing,

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though it would seem that with better economy of power there might be an earlier or a richer harvest; but "Wisdom is justified of all her children."

Almost all forms of Christianity, and what lies on the edge of Christianity, may be found in Japan; nor does the multiplicity of sects do the harm that might have been expected. It involves great waste of power and resource, for overlapping can be avoided in Japan less than anywhere. Of course also it involves some friction, some jealousies, some meannesses in proselytizing or taking advantage of each other's work, though not nearly so much as we might have feared, and, what there is, probably more among the Japanese converts than among the missionaries. It also gives an excuse rather than a reason for a person, convinced but not prepared to make the necessary sacrifice to become a Christian, to say, "Which kind of Christian?"

But a greater evil than these, which yet is connected with them, is the not infrequent hurrying of baptism by missionaries who would wish to prepare thoroughly first, because it is the custom or theory of other groups, and of many of the more isolated missionaries of whom we have spoken, to baptize at a very early stage of the teaching. The half-taught and untried convert moves elsewhere, looks for a missionary, and knows no difference between one and another; is taken, naturally enough, since he is an earnest seeker and calls himself a believer, to be already a Christian in heart who has somehow missed his opportunity of baptism, and is baptized with great thanksgiving, almost without knowledge of what this act really means; and in such a case further teaching of any accurate kind is very improbable. The fear of this sometimes causes baptism in our own communion earlier than would otherwise be at all desirable, just as the prospect of a boy going to school or to sea may lead with us to

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unwisely hurried confirmation; but the person so confirmed has at least been in Christian surroundings all his life, and will not afterwards be removed from the means of grace.

The only non-episcopal bodies which are found in Japan in any strength are the Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, and Baptists.

The Baptists are vigorous, but a comparatively small body. The number of Japanese Christians claimed by them in 1907 is 2373. The fact that they ignore our use of the Sacrament of Baptism for infants, and would repeat the rite, is a bar to free co-operation, similar to that which they and others feel in the way of co-operating freely with us because we insist upon episcopal ordination. But they co-operate where they can, though the fact that the acceptance of each other's ministrations cannot be mutual generates a measure of reserve in them, as in us, which might otherwise be needless.

The Congregationalists were early in the field (converts in 1907, 14,389), and in its early years their great educational institution at Kyoto, called the Doshisha, as the pioneer work of the kind, did incalculable service. A large proportion of older leaders among the Christian Japanese were educated there, and they were often drawn from a higher class in point of intelligence and leadership, and perhaps in social status, than that which now usually attends the mission schools. The reasons for this are not far to seek. For the institution was the first in the field, and therefore drew to itself all that were seeking the new learning at that early period. Moreover, there was then among ardent and impatient spirits an idea of adopting Western things wholesale, even including religion, so that enthusiasm and ambition combined to draw men thither. Since then the Doshisha, and with it the Congregational missions, have met with great

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vicissitudes. Seven years ago they were in very low water, but now the institution is thriving again, and side by side with it the Christian community with which it is connected. But though its staff and plant and work may be better than ever they were, the Doshisha can never again be the place of education for the leaders of thought, society, and politics, for the higher public educational system of Japan has grown up, with the national revenue to support it, and for the leaders of the nation a national rather than a missionary, a native rather than a foreign, institution will be preferred.

The difficulty in frank co-operation with the Congregationalist body lies in that want of fixity, that local vagueness of doctrine which it seems impossible to guard against on Congregational principles. Their missionaries, so far as we know, are a noble and able group of men, staunch on the central Christian doctrines. They have fought, and for the Doshisha at least, have won with much labour and sacrifice the battle of the faith; but there is no guarantee whatever that the Japanese congregations go with them. The missionaries are not members of any Japanese Congregational Church.[1] The moment a congregation is independent of money support from the mission it can go its own way, and any interference of the foreign man or mission would be so strongly resented as to do more harm than good.

Thus several of the most able and eminent lights of the Congregational body—for some at least of them would still describe themselves and be described as such—cannot

[1] Since the above was written matters have progressed, and whilst the assertion of complete independence of missionaries on the part of Japanese Congregationalists is even more pronounced than it was three years ago, we understand that a good many of the Congregationalist missionaries have enrolled themselves as members of Japanese congregations; but probably few or none of them are office-bearers in the body (1906).

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be called Christian in any sense which we should acknowledge. Some of these, notably Mr. Ebina, Mr. Yokoi, and Mr. Abe, were formerly members of the governing committee of the Doshisha; but that institution has succeeded in shaking them out, and in some cases their former congregations also have replaced them by others more orthodox, if less distinguished. But what they are teaching as Congregationalists is, so far as one can judge, a philosophy of enlightened charity, deeply affected by the character and teaching of our Lord, but void of any fixed belief as to His nature, and at the very least leaving open the question of the Incarnation. Freely to act with the Congregationalists is therefore wilfully to place the younger members of the flock under influences not likely to leave them with any steady doctrinal foundation, for among students, at least, Mr. Ebina's attractive personality and large-hearted zeal is perhaps the strongest personal influence in Japan which would call itself Christian.

The Methodist body claim in 1907, 12,580 Japanese members. Here again we meet with the fact that the missionaries are members of their home Churches, and are not in organic union with their Japanese converts.[1]

The Methodists are very strong in educational institutions, and very staunch in their insistence on doctrine. They exhibit something of the same tendency as at home to import rules of conduct not Scriptural into the test conditions of admission, such as making abstinence from alcohol, or specific matters in regard to Sunday observance, conditions of baptism, and securing the high character of the Church by exalting the righteous rather than by patient forbearance with the weak and wayward. But they are doing much good work, and the strictness of their discipline on such points as have been mentioned

[1] The above note applies equally to the Methodist Churches (1906).

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commands not only respect but acceptance with many of their Japanese followers. It is curious that neither they nor, so far as we are aware, any missions but those of the three Episcopal Churches have any definite rules about the marriage of Christians, notwithstanding the great laxity of Japanese ideas on the matter of marriage and divorce.

Like the Methodists and Congregationalists, the Presbyterians also, who claim 15,018 members, have some strong educational institutions. Their doctrinal teaching appears to be clear, their organization strong, and if there is in some places perhaps a roughness of men or methods, we have been struck with the corresponding virtue of sincerity and avoidance of gush or exaggeration alike in missionaries and in their Japanese assistants. It is to be feared that amid the competition of the mission-field one would not always have the answer from a Japanese catechist and pastor, "We number 107 here, but fifteen or more are hardly real members;" or from the missionary, "Which of our workers have you seen? Well, you have seen our best."

We need not go further into detail, except to mention that the Salvation Army, quite unimportant so far as appears in other lines, is doing some good work among criminals, and has made the important field of rescue-work in Japan practically its own, in which it has shown great courage, perseverance, and discretion in a matter far more difficult in Japan than in England. It is true that the courts of Japan have given judgment that no person can be bound by contract to commit an immoral act, or can be detained against her will in an immoral house by force of any contract. But where such houses are licensed, and their inmates are registered, and in most cases have been secured for the life by a contract for which the provider has paid a considerable sum to the

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girl's relations; and where both the police and the people are generally in favour of the system, the need is extreme for both firmness and wisdom in helping the girls individually to secure the freedom to which they are legally entitled.

It is not important to speak of the history of the several missions, for except the Romans,[1] who were taking up old threads, no claim to priority can be made by any one. All came in as soon as they could, and none are yet fifty years old. The question of priority is chiefly important in connection with missionary comity; and we cannot explain the situation better than by quoting from "The Christian Movement in Relation to the New Life" (pp. 41, 42), published in Yokohama, in 1903, under the "Standing Committee of Co-operating Christian Missions." It is the more conclusive for our purpose because, of all the missions which can be said to co-operate in any definite sense, the Anglican mission (Nippon Sei Kōkwai) can do least in the way of regarding the ministrations of other bodies as adequate for its scattered members, or "transferring" them by letters commendatory. The chairman of the committee is a Congregational missionary.

"In the smaller towns there is little trouble, but in the large towns and smaller cities it cannot be denied that there is a good deal of unnecessary jostling upon one another. Some urge a geographical division of the country among the different Churches; but in a country like Japan, where the movement of population is so marked, no geographical division is practicable, unless it be between different members of the same ecclesiastical family. However desirable it may be that an ardent Congregationalist or Baptist, on moving to a large town where there happens to be an Episcopal congregation,

[1] In 1907, Roman Catholics 59,487; Greek Church 29,115.

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should sink his denominational prejudices and join it, he is not likely to do so, if in his judgment the community is large enough to create the hope that it can sustain two Churches. In small towns he may. The case becomes less hopeful still, if it happens, as it sometimes does, that instead of a single believer there is a group large enough and optimistic enough to believe itself stronger than the one which has pre-empted the field. Most of the newer Churches now organized in Japan have grown up in large part because of this movement of population, and this kind of growth is going on all the time. It cannot easily be prevented, though under certain conditions the geographical limitations may work well. For example, Formosa is for the most part, so far as work for the Japanese is concerned, left to the Presbyterians, the Bonin Islands to the Episcopalians, the Loochoos to the Baptists and Methodists, etc.; but it would not be possible to limit the work in any of the first or even second-class cities of Japan proper to a single denomination.

"It seems clear that each case must be dealt with on its merits, and it is the hope that the Standing Committee of Co-operating Christian Missions may be of service in adjusting cases of friction which may arise. Happily such cases are not frequent. Without exception, so far as the writer is aware, the missionary communities throughout Japan have succeeded in finding common ground broad enough to admit of cordial and helpful co-operation. There is unnecessary duplication of machinery oftentimes, but even here forms of co-operation have been devised which yield much hope for the future, and it is not improbable that consolidations may occur as time goes on which will simplify these problems. For the present we may congratulate ourselves that the difficulties which do arise are, with few if any exceptions, met in a spirit of mutual respect and confidence."

Whatever may be said about "comity," it must not be supposed that "the unity for which Christ prayed" is near at hand, or even unity of the so-called "Protestant" or "Evangelical" Churches. So long as the Roman and

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the Eastern Churches are practically ignored, and there is not the hope, and in many cases not even the desire, to recognize them as belonging to the one flock of Christ, the aim at "the unity for which Christ prayed" is not even approached. Indeed, the pretence to such an aim comes perilously near a vast sectarian hypocrisy. So far only as it is blind is it saved from being such; for it is inconceivable that men who believe in our Lord's Divine foreknowledge could look the facts of Christendom in the face and say that far the larger part of those who worship Him were not included in His purpose.

It is for this reason even more, it may be, than because of the radical difference in their conception of Church order, though the two things are most intimately connected, that the Anglican Communion is held back from a larger and freer measure of co-operation with either side. To give ourselves to either side would be to detach the bridge across the great dividing river from one bank or the other. A more disastrous fall from our high calling could hardly be conceived, though the loving patience required to overcome from age to age the difficulty of holding steadily to both sides is hard indeed; and the fact that the great dividing line of Christendom runs straight through the middle of our Church is a continual strain on faith and patience which needs, and we trust calls forth, an especial measure of God's grace.

The very elementary appreciation of this point of view, which as yet prevails among even the intelligent young Japanese Christians attached to the various Protestant bodies, is well illustrated by two blunders which were made in printing in their magazine, a paper on the "Possible steps towards the Unity for which Christ prayed," which the present writer had been asked to read at one of their meetings. He pointed out that

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God's way to this unity could not lie in the direction of sinking differences and saying we would all be one Church, for an honest Romanist sincerely believes that his communion is the only Church; and if, ignoring his conscience, he united with others, "he would not be a good man." These vague zealots for union left out the not. In the same paper it was pointed out that schisms arise when men are zealous and keenly alive and ready to fight and die for a shred of truth as they see it. There is little danger of the Church being split by those who are lukewarm. Before "zealous" a not was inserted. In both cases, no doubt, all was honestly intended. It was inconceivable to these zealots, who were prepared to perpetuate the deeper clefts of Christendom by excluding the larger half, that one who yearned for unity could have meant what he appeared to have written.

But distant as general reunion may be, the trend is towards such partial unification as can be had. This is a matter for deep thankfulness. Little local movements may set the current for great and general ones, and the larger the body the less narrow will probably be its thoughts. Hence it is a subject of thankful rejoicing that separate "missions" are throughout Japan amalgamating into ecclesiastical organizations. Four different missionary societies, that of the Church in the United States and the Church in Canada, the C.M.S. and the S.P.G., combined with the Japanese converts connected with them to constitute the Nippon Sei Kōkwai. The financial organization, the institutions, some part of the control, and except in the cities of Tokyo and Osaka the spheres of work, are distinct; but the constitution and canons, and the synods by which Church matters are governed, are common to all. Similar though probably looser treaties bind together the multitudinous missionary societies of the Presbyterians, the Methodists, the

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Baptists, and the Congregationalists into four groups in the mission-field of Japan, and the "Standing Committee of Co-operating Christian Missions" is the outcome of a great missionary conference held in Tokyo in 1900, and is itself working, not without success, for further fellowship.

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## CHAPTER IV

### Missions of the Anglican Communion

**The Nippon Sei Kōkwai, Constitution, Canons, Synod—Present outlook—Missionary methods—Hopes for the future—Contribution of the Japanese: (1) Cheerful patience; (2) A proper estimate of wealth: (3) Subordination of individual interests; (4) Approach to Christian unity.**

Almost as soon as Japan was open to foreigners at all, in 1859, a representative of the Anglican Communion appeared in the person of the Rev. C. M., now Bishop, Williams, from the United States. How modern the work is comes home to us when we remember that this earliest missionary, though he resigned his jurisdiction in 1890, is still humbly working on as a missionary among the Japanese. But it was not till fourteen years later that it became lawful for a Japanese to be a Christian, and the real influx of missionaries began. The C.M.S. had already sent a missionary, and before the year 1873 was over the S.P.G. was in Tokyo. Then the missions of our communion spread, the American mission being under the charge of Bishop Williams, who was responsible for both China and Japan, while the Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, was charged with jurisdiction over the English missions. To the missionary societies already in the field was added, in 1887, St. Paul's Guild, with its two community missions of St. Andrew and St. Hilda, for work in Tokyo, and in 1888 the Canadian Church began missionary work in Japan.

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From that time to this the episcopal roll has been as follows:—

2. Bishop Poole, 1883 to 1885, took over English missions in Japan from the Bishop of Victoria.
3. Bishop Bickersteth, 1886 to 1897, was called, first, Bishop of Japan, then of Central Japan, and then (on delimitation of the jurisdictions), South Tokyo.
4. Bishop McKim, 1893, succeeded Bishop Williams of the American Church four years after the latter's resignation. His jurisdiction, since the delimitation, has been called North Tokyo by the Japanese General Synod.
5. Bishop Evington, 1895, jurisdiction of Kiu Shiu.
6. Bishop Awdry, 1896, jurisdiction of Osaka; 1898, succeeded Bishop Bickersteth in South Tokyo.
7. Bishop Fyson, 1896, jurisdiction of Hokkaido.
8. Bishop Foss, 1899, succeeded Bishop Awdry in jurisdiction of Osaka.
9. Bishop Partridge, 1900 (of the American Church), jurisdiction of Kyōto.

At first the work was done through missionary societies each acting independently, and occupying different spheres, except in Tokyo, the capital, where four societies met, and in Osaka, the commercial centre, where the American Church and the C.M.S. were both to be found; nor in these great centres would one have been at all adequate alone.

As the work spread, the interlacing of the various missions soon demanded some local delimitations; while the Americans and the English were each using their own MS. translation of the Prayer-book, and it was obviously desirable that, before printing, one Prayer-book should be adopted for all the Japanese members of the same communion. These and other needs led in



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due course to definite arrangements between the missionaries in concert with their Japanese converts; and with the sanction of the societies at home a single Japanese Church was constituted, and the jurisdictions delimited of the several bishops, who in their turn withdrew their missions from each other's local spheres, so that the work might be more compact and economical, and occasions of friction might be removed. Only in Tokyo and Osaka the jurisdictions were not delimited, and two or more missions worked side by side, restrained only by courtesy and mutual respect from interfering with each other.

It is so obvious for any one not in the field to ask why even these somewhat irregular, and it might be thought inconvenient, exceptions should exist, that a few words are necessary in explanation. Suppose a mission has been planted by the C.M.S. in Osaka, and circumstances lead the American Church to go there too, either before or after. Only in a few "concessions" in the country may foreigners hold property. The American Church wants to work in Kyōto, the former capital, twenty-six miles from Osaka; but Kyōto is not a "treaty port," and it is difficult to have institutions there, and still more difficult to secure them for the Church—their hospital, etc., must be in Osaka, with a view to Kyōto. Then, on the other side of Osaka, there is indeed Kobe, only twenty miles away; but Kobe is occupied by the S.P.G., and for three hundred miles westward from Osaka there is no other treaty port. Hence the C.M.S. also must have all its institutions in Osaka for the whole of that Western district. Moreover, the two missions must not only have their main plant in the same city, but in the same few acres of it; for the "foreign concession" was a very limited area. The work of the two is mainly in different parts of the city, but the

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plant, institutions, and houses of the missionaries are close together.

But it may be asked, when by agreement between the authorities of the English and American Churches there came to be an English Bishop of Osaka, why should not the Americans have withdrawn or been placed under him? Well, we must repeat first that they were there with a view to the American Diocese of Kyōto, and it is only since 1899, since "treaty revision" has given greater freedom, that foreigners can live and rent land and own houses in Kyōto. But further, there would arise the difficulty of their maintenance. American Churchmen could hardly be expected to continue for any length of time to support work which was no longer the work of their own Church, nor directed by their bishops, nor reported in their own missionary periodicals; and the English mission was not in a position to undertake the responsibility of their institutions. At all events, it is quite certain that the first Bishop of Osaka would have been most unwilling that the American Bishop of Kyōto should withdraw from Osaka either his mission or his control of the churches there connected with that mission, and the present Bishop shows no signs of being otherwise minded.

The corresponding question in Tokyo, though at times it has been more thorny, is, in great part, of the same kind, and space does not allow us to enter into it.

We have not the statistics of the number of baptized Christians of our communion at the time (1887) when the Nippon Sei Kōkwai was constituted, but in 1891 it is given as 4900; in 1902 it was 11,451.[1]

What is the Nippon Sei Kōkwai? Let its constitution speak for itself—

"1. This Church shall be called the Nippon Sei Kōkwai (Holy Catholic Church of Japan).

[1] In 1906, 13012.

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"2. The Nippon Sei Kōkwai receives the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, believes them to be a revelation of God, and to contain all things necessary to salvation, and acknowledges the faith contained in the Nicene and the Apostles' Creeds.

"3. The Nippon Sei Kōkwai teaches the doctrine of the Lord Jesus Christ, and administers the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Supper which He established, and the discipline which He ordained.

"4. The Nippon Sei Kōkwai preserves the three orders of bishop, priest, and deacon which have been transmitted from the time of the Apostles.

"5. The Nippon Sei Kōkwai holds every third year a General Synod, the date and place of meeting of the same determined by the bishops. The bishops, in consultation with the standing committees of the several districts, may call a special session of the General Synod.

"6. The General Synod shall consist of the bishops, and of clerical and lay deputies elected from each district. The method of election shall be determined by canon.

"7. The president of the General Synod shall be elected by the bishops holding actual jurisdiction from among their own number.

"8. In the General Synod the bishops shall vote separately, the clerical and lay deputies may vote either separately or together. Questions shall be determined by a majority of the bishops, and a majority of the clerical and lay deputies.

"9. The functions of the General Synod shall be as follows:—

"(1) To determine matters that concern the peace and progress of the Nippon Sei Kōkwai.

"(2) To establish a society for domestic and foreign missions, and to control the same.

"(3) To amend the constitution and canons.

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"10. Proposals to amend the constitution must first be brought forward in a regular session of the General Synod, and receive its assent, and then be passed by a two-thirds vote in the next regular session of the Synod."

Besides this constitution, the General Synod, which is its governing body, has passed and from time to time revised canons on the following subjects: (1) Election of bishops; (2) standing committees; (3) candidates for Orders; (4) examination and ordination; (5) evangelists; (6) churches; (7) pastors; (8) vestries; (9) district synods; (10) the Board of Missions; (11) marriage; (12) discipline; (13) Prayer-book and the Articles; (14) general provisions.

One or two of these are as yet incomplete, but the extensive and very careful revision by the General Synod of 1902 makes it improbable that, beyond filling the gaps, any important changes will be made for some considerable time; and the General Synod, while it becomes in larger and larger proportion Japanese, is becoming also more and more harmonious, moderate, and responsible in the tone of its discussions.

We have noticed that in some other Christian bodies the missionaries remain members of their home Churches, without becoming members of the Japanese Churches which they have founded. There are, no doubt, some advantages in this, notably that as the congregations feel themselves entirely self-governing and independent, they are free from the irritation of any foreign control in their own country, and it has therefore been easier for them to draw in adherents and ministers from a higher level of society than is usually the case with us. Ambitious minds fret at what seem to be leading-strings. But the advantage, especially with a view to the far future, that comes to the Nippon Sei Kōkwai from a constitution under which the Japanese Church is self-governing, yet

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contains on an equal footing Japanese and foreigners alike, far outweighs any possible disadvantages. Reasonable control is exercised, from within and not from without, by those who have the longest experience, the highest offices, and behind whom lie centuries of Christian ancestry. But as the Japanese increase in numbers, and ripen in faith and knowledge, the control automatically becomes counsel, and the majority passes gradually from the foreigners to the Japanese themselves.

Thus in the General Synod of 1902 there were six bishops, all foreign; thirty-six representative clergy, of whom there were present seventeen Japanese and seventeen foreign; and thirty-six lay representatives, all Japanese Plainly, at this stage, the foreigners cannot override the Japanese laymen, nor the Japanese the foreign bishops. Probably, and we think it will be well if it is so, a good many years will pass before the majority in the House of Bishops becomes Japanese; but no revolution, nothing but quiet progress along lines already laid down, is needed to bring about this complete independence. Meanwhile, the best heads, foreign and Japanese, meet in council to govern the Church, and to understand and persuade one another. This automatic educational process, as well as the automatic progress towards self-government, is of the highest value, and that both are gradual is no small part of the benefit. There does not seem to be nearly so much friction between missionaries and Japanese in the Nippon Sei Kōkwai as elsewhere, because of the complete equality of the two within the Church. This may be one cause of the extent to which other missions work through institutions, as the institutions continue to belong to the missions and not to the local Churches; or it may be due merely to the American habit of working in this manner, and to the greater ease with which they can find money than

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men; and among men, educationalists rather than evangelists and pastors.

Our congregations are, however, behind theirs in developing self-support rapidly; not behind the Church of England if relative wealth is considered, but behind other "Protestant" bodies both there and here. No doubt our Japanese Christians are too well satisfied to rest on the financial support of missionary societies, just as English Churchmen rest contentedly on the gifts of former ages for the maintenance of the Church to-day, and in both cases they are too little conscious of the element of meanness in this, and of the injury to their own character and to the prospects of the Church.[1] And though it is by no means an adequate reply, in both cases also it may be urged that they are supporting foreign missions, for the Nippon Sei Kōkwai has for six years past carried on a mission work in the Japanese dependency of Formosa, to which, though the American mission contributes something, neither the English mission societies nor missionaries subscribe, unless it be by individual gifts through occasional offertories.

Altogether, the present condition is one of progress and much hopefulness. Christian influences are more and more admitted into the higher families where the social bar is greatest. The Christian homes of foreigners are more and more sought for children, not indeed for their Christianity, but for their care in bringing up as well as for intellectual advantages. No doubt in a good many cases the parents hope that their children will get the moral and intellectual benefits, and do not believe they will ever be so benighted as to become Christians in this advanced and agnostic age; but they are

[1] Since the above was written there is some progress in this matter, and the subject is now receiving very serious consideration from the Japanese themselves (1906).

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willing to take the risk. Mission schools were never so numerous and so full as now, while Christian boarding-houses for students are a new growth rapidly developing. The scandals in regard to bribery, the low state of commercial morality, the inefficiency of moral teaching without the background of religion which it is generally acknowledged can be found only among Christians, the power of Christian faith, hope, and love to raise the criminal, besides the purely secular interests arising from the increasing intercourse with the West, the need for a familiarity with Western manners, the value of the English language, and a clear recognition that it is impossible to understand English literature without a pretty intimate acquaintance with the Bible, all tend to open doors to Christian influence. It is widely supposed, not among missionaries only but among Japanese, that in the higher ranks there are many genuine believers in the position of Nicodemus, or of Naaman in regard to the house of Rimmon. Such men may not be strong, but a crisis of unfair resistance to Christianity might, and an accession of one or two princes of the blood to the Christian name (removing the great social and family inconveniences attending the confession of their faith) certainly would, lead them to show their real colours.

As yet, however, the even nominal Christians are but about 1 in 300 of the nation, and those of our own communion do not exceed 1 in 3500. They are drawn very little from the highest and the lowest grades, and most largely from the lower half of the professional and salaried classes. It is a good sign for the country that we begin to find tradesmen and merchants coming in, not perhaps in such centres as Yokohama which are the least accessible of all to higher moral or religious influences, but in country towns where the best

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national characteristics have not been so much undermined by the haste to be rich, and other demoralizing tendencies. The "knightly" ideal of older Japan,[1] with its customs of honour often involving great simplicity and self-control and self-denial, and with its utter separation of wealth from status, still commands general respect, and has considerable influence, where it has not been destroyed by too much contact with the commercial self-advertising ways of the West. In these the class of Japanese who come to the great ports show themselves but too apt pupils, often taking the evil without the good, and outheroding Herod in selfish individualism. But where this spirit has not come in the soil is good, the prospects are favourable, and the time is fully ripe.

What should be our methods? All lawful methods are useful, and the times when the iron is specially hot for an effective stroke of this kind or of that change rapidly in this kaleidoscopic scene. Every man and woman has special aptitudes according to the measure of the gift of Christ. Are all apostles? Are all prophets? Are all pastors and teachers?

1. But first and foremost of all missionary methods comes the "more excellent way" of Christian charity in which all must walk, consisting, as St. Paul teaches, very largely in humility and absence of self-assertion, in sympathetic courtesy, in gentle kindliness of tongue and bearing, in thinking and making the best of people, and in patience and forbearance with faults, real or supposed; for where we are disposed to despise or quiz or criticize, it is often we that are conceited, self-opinionated, or narrow, quite as much as it is they that are wrong;

[1] See Rev. J. T. Imai's little book, "Bushido (Past and Present)," published in Japan, of which copies can be obtained at the S.P.G. office (1906).

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and there must be that gentle patience in which the Japanese so greatly excel us. Given faith, hope, and charity, and the attractive power of character and example, especially as seen in a Christian home, where the true relation of husband and wife, of parent and child, are illustrated, we come next to the special methods for which God endows some, not others. Thus—

2. Evangelistic preaching can never go out of use. Even at home it is renewed from time to time in parochial missions, and is constant in the long-neglected slums of great cities. How much more needful is it where there is no Christian atmosphere, no foundation of knowledge, no home teaching, no technical terms for the commonest Christian ideas such as "God," in our sense of the one supreme Being! It is as astounding that some, even missionaries, should "not believe in" this method as that others should seem to suppose it almost sufficient alone.

3. Pastoral work. This ought, as soon as possible, to be done through the converts. They only can get full access to homes and hearts, and understand the thoughts and puzzles and temptations of their fellow-countrymen. But it must be acknowledged that new converts are often good evangelists, but very seldom good pastors. The shyness of intruding, the necessity of conforming to custom, difference of rank, the self-consciousness which comes from these things, and the possibility that those to whom they go will regard them as little more qualified than themselves, are embarrassments which do not affect the missionary at all in the same degree. Great allowance must be made for them.

4. Literature. Tracts are a very difficult question. At the early stages they are inevitable, in great numbers. Some of them are really good. They must, at the beginning, be largely given free of charge, for those for whom they are wanted do not want them, though if given they

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may cast their eyes over them and get a thought which will lead them to ask for more. Some of the really good and larger tracts would be bought by those who already have their interest awakened.

Original Christian books are not as yet very numerous in Japan, but things are going forward, for the first Christian novel with a motive has made its appearance. The library of translated books is limited but valuable, as a few samples will show; *e.g.* Liddon's, Moberly's, and Gore's Bampton Lectures, Dale on the Atonement, Trench on the Parables and Miracles, Maclear on the Creed, the "Imitatio," the "Pilgrim's Progress," and others. Commentaries on the various books of the Bible are now coming out. Of course the S.P.C K. is our great helper in all this. The American missions are even more active than we in this work, whilst it is a special feature of the Methodist mode of operation. Meanwhile the public appetite leads to the translation of standard English literature of all sorts, including novels and plays such as Othello, in which the, to them unpronounceable, Western names and places are changed into what will be familiar to the Japanese. It is important, therefore, not to lose time in bringing good English books to their knowledge; and a great extension of translation work is urgently needed.[1]

The Bible is, as we have said, the book most of all

[1] The Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion in the Far East, held in July, 1906, passed the following resolution:—

No. 6 (*b*). "In view of the great need of reliable and helpful Church literature in the native tongues throughout the whole of the Anglican Communion in the Far East, and of the fact that books in either Chinese, Japanese, or Korean can be easily modified and adapted for use in any one of the three countries, this Conference, knowing that the translation of secular and infidel literature is rapidly increasing in these lands, requests the bishops in China, Japan, and Korea respectively to devise means by which Church literature may be made mutually available."

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sought after as literature; and the Bible Society, which has taken immense pains, has a Standing Translation Committee. But the work, both of translating and of revising, is one of great difficulty. The difficulties of translation are of two sorts. (1) Clear expression of unfamiliar ideas. Not merely such theological ideas as Trinity, salvation, justification, are incapable of expression except by the coining of words and grouping together of Chinese symbols, which gradually come to have a meaning to the readers, but such ideas as God, sin and sinner, conscience, motive, character, sympathy, love in the Christian sense, were non-existent in the language. (2) The choice of a style. The literary style is Chinese: the more Chinese, the more dignified and classical. This style is unintelligible to the uneducated and to most of the women. The conversational style is widely different from this, and is mainly pure Japanese, vague, devoid of technical terms, and thought of as fit for chat and children, beneath the dignity of a great subject dealt with in written form. Even in English, and apart from the question of style and dignity, a scientific book containing such expressions as the "conservation of energy" could not be made either intelligible or readable in the pure Anglo-Saxon section of our language. The difficulty is still greater in making a readable and intelligible Japanese Bible, tolerable to scholars, in which there is not a large element of Chinese, while that very element constitutes the difficulty in the way of making it a book for the masses. We do not doubt that the present Japanese Bible is a very creditable work and a good compromise; but, being a compromise, it cannot be either a pleasant style to the learned, or an easy book to the simple.

Nor is the work of revision easier. It is greatly needed from time to time, for the meaning of words changes rapidly in the present state of the language, new

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words introduced to express new ideas gradually becoming familiar, and old words adopted for theological use getting a definite technical meaning; and a revision that may make our Japanese Bible more adequate and more acceptable to all is becoming more possible. For though as yet a good scholarly Chinese Bible is more to the taste of well-educated Japanese (who can all read Chinese) than our version, yet less attention is paid year by year to Chinese in the schools, the written and spoken forms of the Japanese language are drawing nearer and nearer to each other, and the technical words of Christianity are year by year growing more definite in their meaning, more uniform in their use, and more widely understood, so that what was said three years ago indistinctly by a circumlocution can now be clearly expressed by a single word. However, it will not do to send old editions rapidly out of date by frequent revision. Some valuable experimental work has been lately done in the issue by our Church of a "Liturgical Psalter," subdivided, and pointed for chanting, and a committee is engaged on the Epistles and Gospels, which as yet are read from the Bible. If these should find approval, they might indicate to the Bible Society's Committee the lines for future revision. But though various versions form the best of brief explanatory commentaries to persons who do not know the original, it may be that, in addition to the Bible Society's work, a Roman, a Russian, and a Baptist Bible in Japanese, besides several Chinese versions, and our Liturgical Psalter and Epistles and Gospels, may prove an *embarras de richesses*.[1]

[1] Since the above was written the Japanese have brought the subject of Bible revision to the front, and they have themselves formed a preliminary committee to confer with a sub-committee of the "Central Bible Translation Committee," which consists of representatives of the foreign missionary societies working in Japan. Any forthcoming version will be the work of the Japanese

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5. Disputation is hardly in Japan a separate method. It comes into preaching, both in church and still more at meetings in which students form a majority. Topics are often chosen, such as "The Nature and Existence of Evil," "Personality and Responsibility," "The Christ of History;" and though opponents rarely speak at the same meeting (indeed, the police would quickly interfere if discussion became hot), there is quiet conversation in groups after the address. Periodical literature, too, is quite as full of discussion of religious and moral problems in Japan as in England.

6. Charitable institutions. The Roman mission works largely through orphanages, of which they reckon the inmates by thousands. Ours and other missions also have institutions of the kind, but on a much smaller scale. The blind, and the lepers too, who are very numerous, are cared for in institutions carried on by missions, and there are some homes for the aged poor. In the case of help to prisoners, missions have done something; but the two most important works, those of Mr. Tomeoka (Reformatory Cottage Homes), and of Mr. Hara (Discharged Prisoners' Home), are carried on with great self-devotion by Christian Japanese, though a good many foreigners help them with subscriptions. There can be no doubt that works of this kind are recognized as fruits of Christianity, and commend it to the people, and especially to the leaders of the community. Foreign Christians try the experiments, and Japanese, both Christian and non-Christian, follow the example.

7. Medical and nursing missions. The day for these is almost past. Mission hospitals and dispensaries have done much work, and still do a little; but in every

themselves to a much larger extent than its predecessor. Thus it is likely to be much more idiomatic on the one side, whilst on the other the Japanese acknowledge that they cannot do without the Hebrew and Greek scholarship supplied by the foreigners (1906).

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large town there are now one or more public hospitals, not generally so well found as those of the West, but suitable to the needs of the people; and well qualified Japanese doctors open private hospitals in connection with their own houses. There are thousands of "Red Cross" nurses trained and at work all over the country, the sign on their shoulders showing whence their charity was learned. There is great kindliness, but not generally the loving devotion to the patients which is seen where Christian nurses minister as to Christ Himself, nor have many of them quite the skill and force of character of our fully trained nurses, though they are quite good under proper direction; and it outweighs many disadvantages when doctor and nurse speak the same language as the patient. Hence the time for medical and nursing missions is past. It becomes an underselling competition with home industries.

8. Educational methods, with which we will include social, since the two are very frequently combined. These in Japan are very important.

(*a*) Training schools for the ministries of the gospel, both for men and women, are the first and most absolutely necessary thing. As our Lord through the careful training of a few is converting the world, so we missionaries, who can never be the converters of a nation such as this, may train men and women from among them who, by God's blessing, may be the instruments of their conversion. There is still much work to be done under this head. We may note especially that though there are already trained men who can and do study deep theological works in English, yet until they are more conversant with the ancient languages they can only have access to the original authorities by the help of foreign scholars.

It is worth mentioning that our little St. Andrew's Choir School in Tokyo is just beginning to send on, as

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pupils to the divinity classes, lads exceptionally well prepared to receive the further training.[1]

(*b*) Elementary schools are adequately supplied by the country, and it would be folly and waste under the conditions to attempt to compete with them; and as religion of all kinds is excluded from schools recognized by the Government, it is only through home, Sunday school, and Church that we can look to do much for the children of elementary school age.

Above the elementary standards demand for education exceeds the supply, and as the Japanese boy is studious and obedient to established rule far beyond his English fellow, and when he rebels against a master is more likely to do this for his inefficiency than for anything else, it is possible to fill missionary middle schools and to work them in part through foreigners. On account of the prohibition of religious teaching or rites in schools recognized by the Government, many mission schools have renounced their "recognition," and chosen to be private schools. This gives them freedom, not only to teach religion or assemble in worship as much as they will, but also to choose their own curriculum, and to make it really strong in that most valuable of lines—the study of foreign languages. They fill better, in fact, than ever before. But their pupils being at great disadvantage as compared with pupils of "recognized" schools in the matter of entry into higher and normal schools, universities, and the professions, are constantly leaving them for Government schools, if a vacancy can be found before the school course is over.[2]

[1] The first set of these have just graduated from the Divinity School, to the great advantage of the Church (1906).

[2] The actual disabilities have been largely removed since the above was written, but the disinclination of Japanese to enter institutions in Japan in which they will be under the government of foreigners is great and growing. It is doubtful whether such institutions have a long future, in spite of some obvious advantages (1906).

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Some of the mission schools hold to their "recognition," but have boarding-houses for such scholars as will use them; and the Government, with benevolent neutrality, regards the boarding-house as a separate institution, with the teaching and practices of which it has nothing to do. Therefore, though there can be no prayers or Christian teaching in these *schools*, and no doubt the boys or girls are fagged by the very long hours of the Government curriculum, yet, subject to that disadvantage, there is no restriction on the worship or the lessons or the general routine of the boarding-house, and, if properly managed, these boarding-houses fill well.

Other Christian boarding-houses also exist in considerable numbers all over the city of Tokyo for students of the universities, or of the public and private schools. Students who want a place for meals, sleep, and study apply eagerly for admission. They are charged about the same price which they would pay for their accommodation elsewhere, and they club together and board themselves. As the places we are speaking of are mostly connected with some mission, like-minded, quiet, moral men and boys get together in them, and there usually is the further advantage of direct connection with some foreign missionary who can help them in their English, and show them something of foreign modes of life—matters of great value to them.

Of most methods in this country it is difficult to say whether they have a future of more than a year or two, things pass so quickly to the next stage, and it is always important to strike while the iron is hot; but there are elements in the boarding-house work which look as if it had a pretty long lease of life, and was capable of large development.

Especially in the case of girls sent to Tokyo for higher education there is an opening of this kind. Three such



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hostels connected with our missions now exist in Tokyo, one under C.M.S., one under S.P.G., and one under St. Hilda's, besides the boarding sections of the girls' schools at St. Hilda's and in Bishop McKim's district at St. Margaret's.

The boarders in the hostels number about forty or fifty, but those who frequent these houses are many times that number. The students bring their relations and friends; the hostels become centres of Christian social life, and of charitable work societies, as well as of what is more directly evangelistic. The missionary ladies in charge are sometimes teachers in the highest educational institutions, such as the Peeresses' School and the Women's University, and so come naturally into contact with a very large number of those who may hereafter be leaders in society, or teachers in the higher branches of study. It would be difficult to overrate the importance of this work, or to see a limit to its possible development, if the best, and none but the best, engage in it. These houses offer many attractions for students. They come for English language and manners that they may be able to take their place with ease, if called upon, in Western society, possibly at Legations. They come, too, for protection from moral dangers, and with this they get the knowledge and offer of the gospel under circumstances favourable to its acceptance.

There are many more topics and methods on which we might touch, such as the immense value of community missions for some kinds of work, and, side by side with this, the necessity for exhibiting fully the beauty of the Christian family life of England, which, once seen, impresses the Japanese deeply; but we must hasten to the last portion of our subject, which is indeed the motive of this whole article.

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## CHAPTER V

### Contribution of the Japanese

**Patience—True estimate of value of wealth—Subordination of the individual to the corporate life.**

What, then, may it be hoped that Japan, become Christian, will contribute towards representing in the Church the lineaments of Christ perfect and complete?

Let us understand clearly what we mean by this. Christ alone is the Perfect Man, in whom not only all perfections are present, but every one is in its due proportion. "In Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." The Church is, ideally, His Body, "the fulness of Him that filleth all in all;" and the Church, as His Spouse, without spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing, should correspond—nay, may we not say will ultimately correspond?—to His perfection. But it cannot be said yet that we are complete in Him, whether the "we" is understood of individual Christians, even the holiest, or of local branches of the Church, or of the whole Church as we yet see it in the world. There are characteristics of the perfect Church still wanting; or even where not actually wanting, very imperfectly expressed and developed. Further, the branches of the Church which exist at present recognize very imperfectly these imperfections. They have followed their own ideals; they have emphasized those points which struck their imagination, but they have seldom adequately recognized those points which do not find

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place in their own ideals, and have not been forced upon their attention by the circumstances of their history. Thus the Roman Church has idealized a magnificent conception of the saintly life and of entire self-sacrifice, but it has little appreciation of individual responsibility for the subject-matter of the faith. The Orthodox Eastern Church stands magnificently for the old paths, but has little appreciation of the growth which there must be in the living Body of Christ. To some of the Reformed and Protestant bodies we owe a great debt for their recognition of the free grace of God, combined with individual responsibility for judgment in regard to truth; but how little our Lord's earnest prayer for unity and mutual subordination within one Body has made itself felt in their ideals! To our own branch of the Church it has been given to stand between the other bodies, recognizing the vital importance of individual freedom and of progress, while refusing to break with what has come to us from the beginning; but how much of secularity and mere respectability, how much of compromise with the world, making great sacrifices for Christ appear to be foolish enthusiasms, has crept into the ideals of even those who are amongst our best!

Those who have lived among peoples who, while not Christian, have high ideals of their own, have special opportunity for recognizing the deficiencies, which may not have come home to them at all because they were a matter of course whilst they were living amongst their own people. It is the sight of such deficiencies in the Churches of the West, coupled with the sight of graces and ideals among non-Christians, that put to shame those who have thought themselves fully followers of Christ, which gives occasion for such a paper as this.

In what points, then, are we who go to make up Christendom as yet defective, perhaps unconsciously; and

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which of these defects might, so far as we can see, be supplemented and made good by the elements which the Japanese character, when moulded by Christian faith, might be expected to supply?

It will not be worth while to touch minor points and details which are almost certain to be lost, or to be modified beyond recognition, in the process of absorbing what must be absorbed if the nation is to become Christian. But three broad characteristics stand out, distinct yet intimately connected with each other—characteristics which belong to the very foundations of Japanese ideals, and to the very ground tints of the characters of those who aim at following those ideals; characteristics, too, which put to shame the coarseness and selfishness and self-assertion, the uglinesses and disproportions and even vices and vicious tendencies which, under the names of being practical, efficient, and self-respecting, seem to pose as part of the popular ideals of the West. These must be pruned and trained if the truth and the beauty and the goodness of Christ are to be fully exhibited in His Church on earth. They will not be pruned till the Anglo-Saxon learns to see, as the Eastern already sees, that they are blotches and deformities upon a grand ideal and a noble character.

If, then, the Japanese, or those among them who exhibit the best features of the national type, will continue true through all changes to the highest traditions of the race, we think they may contribute in three directions to that through which the Church as a whole may attain to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ—

1. Cheerful patience, neither fatalistic nor despairing.

2. A proper estimate of wealth in comparison with other things.

3. The self-subordination of the individual to the interests of the whole body.

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Far be it from me to say that there are not glaring Japanese faults committed under these heads, as also there are eminent examples of excellence under them in the West. But the Japanese, both in their ideals and in the foundation of the characters of their better men, show the elements of what is excellent; and that which blossoms and fruits sparsely now should, when touched by Christianity, produce a rich harvest for the good of Christendom and of the world.

Let us consider these three heads one by one.

1. Cheerful patience, neither fatalistic nor despairing.

Japan is specially liable to great calamities such as fire, flood, or earthquake. How do the people behave under them? In the case of flood, we have seen thousands cooped up for weeks on what remains of a river dyke, with little shelter or none, their houses, gardens, crops, ten feet under the water; and they have no capital to fall back upon. In such a case for many the ruin is not for the season only; sand and gravel from the river-bed lie two feet deep over everything. The Government boats bring round to those on the dykes a modicum of rice. There is no word of murmur, and if the rice did not reach them they would probably assume that it could not, and would starve in uncomplaining silence. Charitable foreigners take round to some of them a little tea or tobacco, and find all patient, most of them already cheerful, and almost all absolutely uncomplaining and full of gratitude for the trifling kindness. We speak of actual instances on a large scale. One of those who went round with these little comforts on being asked, "Well, what did you find? What have you to say about it?" answered, "I will never complain again as long as I live." But he is an Anglo-Saxon—a good one—and, as he acknowledges, he has not kept his resolution.

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But some one may say, "This is heedlessness, laziness, insensibility." It is true that ordinarily a Japanese is less responsible, less continuously energetic, less sensitive to the suffering, both of himself and others, than a Western. Probably he will have to feel more in all these directions before he can lead the world, and he is learning; but a large measure of what we see is derived from deliberate self-conquest and following an ideal. If there is a measure of insensibility, there is neither sulkiness nor despair. The moment the flood is down the man is on his fields, working as heartily as if nothing had happened; and if his plot has been covered with gravel, he is busy trying to rescue half of his tiny patch by piling the tons of useless deposit upon the other half—work which must be accomplished by carrying it away in a basket on his shoulders.

Would an Anglo-Saxon do this? Would he not curse his luck, and his neighbour, and the Government? Or if he were of the temper that does not curse, would he not sulk, or go somewhere else for better luck, though without any reason to suppose it will be better, or give up, or take to drink in despair because "it is all no good, and where one gets a thing, one only loses it again"? Is there nothing here that the Western does not contribute but the Japanese may? It is true that much of this patience might be contributed by other Orientals, but not, we think—certainly not in China or India—with the strain of cheerful contentment and even gratitude running all through the pattern; and if the negro could supply the cheerfulness, the deeper qualities would be wanting there.

2. A proper estimate of wealth in comparison with other things.

Under the old conditions there was probably no country in the world where wealth had so little to do

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with social acceptance or personal distinction as in Japan. A very small house, but perfectly kept; scarcely any furniture, but what there was, good of its kind; very few ornaments, but those in good taste; a garden of the size of a dining-table, but a little gem; entertainment for all comers, but just native tea and sugar-plums; breakfast, dinner, and supper of rice and vegetables, with just a mouthful of fish or fungus and a flavouring of sauce, but served to each person on the daintiest of little trays, and the food scrupulously clean, and never touched with the fingers; delicate and elaborate courtesy, but not requiring servants;—such was the ideal and the frequent fact. Grave learning, such as was within their reach, was often coupled with all this, and both age and learning commanded deference and respect. Is it surprising that under conditions like these money was not a god, except to the lowest minds? Is it surprising that self-respecting men did not haste to be rich, that money-getting as a line of life was despised—we must admit too much despised; that no one in Japan ever said, or says, "So-and-so is worth so much;" that Western drawing-rooms strike the Japanese as museums, not living-rooms, in which no beautiful thing can be enjoyed because too many are on show, and that the whole looks too much like self-display and self-advertisement to be in good taste? They, no doubt, are intensely interested in all these things of ours which they see, but perhaps their taste is the better of the two. Certainly it is much more akin than ours to that of the Greeks in this respect.

But it is not the question of taste with which we are concerned. Their old ideals did not take wealth into account in the estimate of the worth of man or nation. Not only could a noble life be lived by a poor man, but he could live it without embarrassment in the society of those who were rich as well as noble. Garibaldi, with

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a patient spirit and delicate culture added, would have been quite at home among the Japanese, except that unfortunately manual would not have met with the respect freely accorded to literary labour.

It is not amiss to quote the explanation which we have received as to why, seeing that posts of trust are largely given to Christians by non-Christian Japanese, there has not arisen a swarm of persons professing Christianity with a view to profit. The answer was, Because Christians are as yet despised, and in Japan honour is valued more than profit.

It will surely be acknowledged that here there is much more in accord with our Lord's "Take heed and beware of covetousness, for a man's life consisteth not in the multitude of the things which he possesseth," than anything in the West.

But can it continue? It is hard to say. The leaven of it may not die out of Japanese character, but it is true that if Japanese are to mingle with foreigners they must abandon their old fashions of dress; then they can no longer sit upon the floor, and must have furniture. This, besides the direct expense, will involve houses twice as large and more substantial, and a certain amount of show and rivalry can hardly fail to come in. Nor is the increase seen in personal expenses only. Japan must have a fleet, and pay for it. This requires a public revenue, and this again involves taxation, which can only be made profitable by a great development of commerce; and the multiplication of needs and the cultivation of expensive habits appear good for trade. Once more, it is not so much current expenditure as the accumulation of capital that gives a sense of security, and the power of meeting an emergency, alike to the individnal and to the nation. Thus from every point of view wealth assumes an importance in Japanese life which it had

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not in former days; and the fact that personal accumulations and expenditure greatly strengthen the position of Japan among the nations, attaches the glamour of patriotism and the credit of prudence to a moral tendency which has worked like a canker in Western ideals and character, distorting the moral vision, so as to destroy proportion in moral ideas, more than anything else that can be named. Will anything survive from old Japan of what was good in this regard, to contribute towards the completeness of Christian character?[1]

3. The self-subordination of the individual to the interests of the whole body.

Here we meet with the same question as in the last case. Can the higher, less selfish, more generous ideal survive the influences of which we have been speaking? The danger, no doubt, is great; and the contribution from this side, if it can be made, should be the most important of all, and the one which could come from Japan alone of all the non-Christian nations of the world. There may elsewhere be self-sacrifice for the husband or for the family, and there is self-sacrifice of a striking if limited kind for the religion among the Moslems. But in China, we are told, there is no patriotism; in India, no national life. In Japan the individual is for the family, the family for the nation. A man who should say, "It's all very well to say this is good for the country or for

[1] It is with regret, not with surprise, that we seem to see a greatly increased tendency to self-assertion, impatience, and the love of money in the past three years. Side by side with these losses there are the corresponding gains of more developed individual character, a great increase in the sense of honour in commercial things, and of energy spread throughout the nation. To a foreign eye, at least, Japanese is rapidly assimilating itself to Western character, but we cannot suppose that the growth of centuries will be wholly obliterated, and Christianity, if it takes hold of the nation, may save them from such a disaster (1906).

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other people, but it hurts me and interferes with my rights, and I am not going to stand it," would, we fear, be thought normal in the West, but would be ill thought of in Japan. One who took the opposite course would be thought normal in Japan, but would be praised in the West enough to show that such public spirit, as we call it, was hardly to be expected.

Yet the most intense appreciation of the claims of the corporate life of the Church upon the individual is of the very centre and essence of the teaching and example of Christ and His Apostles. Does not St. Paul's indignant "Why do ye not rather take wrong?" find little response amid the "Stand up for yourselves," "Don't be poor spirited," "I am going to have all my rights, and then perhaps I will give of my bounty," which are such common notes in the chorus of opinion among Western and nominally Christian peoples? Japan is indeed lacking as yet in that sense of the value of the individual which the religion of Christ can hardly fail to teach, but it may well become one of the influences to bring home to Christendom the meaning of that Body of Christ in which each member being for all rather than all for each, makes his sacrifices, both of himself and even of those he loves, without recognizing that they are sacrifices, because he has no personal interest comparable to that of the welfare of the whole. Japan has not reached this now, yet the germs of this are in the national ideals. Japan has not reached this yet, but Japan is not yet alight with Christianity. If those old ideals are touched by the spark of Christ's love, what may not arise from them for the blessing of the whole world?

And so we must end; except that with mixed hope and fear—high hope and perhaps even deeper fear—we may point to the fact that the problem of Christian unity, that unity for which our Saviour prayed on the eve of His

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crucifixion, is more likely to find its solution, or the early steps towards it, in the mission-field than amid the ingrained divisions and the completed organizations of the home countries. If a heathen nation becomes Christian, civilized and independent at every stage from the beginning, thoughtfully conscious of the problems in the case, will it continue the divisions which our missions import into it? Japan is the only country in which, so far as we can see, the conditions exist for the working out of this question. We do not believe that a Christian Japan, if Japan becomes Christian within a century, will be divided as we are. Whether unity is possible is very doubtful, but modifications there will be, and a strong movement for unity. That the present condition of Christendom and the competition of the Churches is wrong, is even more palpable to the Japanese than to us. But what will they make of the vast problem when we dividing and subdividing missionaries are gone? Will they be hasty and throw overboard the treasure in the hope to make the ship sail well; or will they act soberly, wisely, and humbly, and become the leaders for all Christendom by showing how rightly to lighten the ship and bring its real treasure safe to shore?

There could be no greater contribution from any race than such a leading. Is it too much to hope or pray for? No, surely; but God knows what can be. To Him we trust it.

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## IV

# THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CHURCH OF CHINA TO THE BODY OF CHRIST

By the late Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong

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# THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CHURCH OF CHINA TO THE BODY OF CHRIST

THE RIGHT REV. J. C. HOARE, D.D.
LATE BISHOP OF VICTORIA, HONG KONG

*Bishop Hoare never saw the proofs of this article. He was drowned before they could reach him, and this was the last article of any length he ever wrote. Bishop Graves, of Shanghai, has consented to add a few notes.*

## CHAPTER I

### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHINESE

**The yellow peril or a yellow question—Intellectual calibre of the Chinese—Morals—Roman missions and statistics.**

NOT many months after the Boxer rising of 1900, Sir Robert Hart, whose intimate knowledge of things Chinese is certainly beyond question, penned the following sentence: "That the future will have a 'Yellow Question' —perhaps a 'Yellow Peril'—to deal with, is as certain as that the sun will shine to-morrow." A few pages later on in the same book ("These from the Land of Sinim"), in discussing the question of the Yellow Peril, the writer quotes a remark of Wen Hsiang, "the celebrated Prime Minister of China during the minority of Tung Chih in the early sixties," who often said, "You are all too anxious to awaken us, and start us on a new road, and you will do it; but you will all regret it, for, once awaking and started, we shall go fast and far—farther

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than you think, much further than you want." To Sir Robert's mind the Yellow Peril was apparently the most important feature of the Yellow Question. He foresees that "in fifty years' time there will be millions of Boxers in serried ranks and war's panoply at the call of the Chinese Government: there is not the slightest doubt of that!" He foresees, too, that such a development "bodes no good for the rest of the world, but China will be acting within its right and will carry through the national programme." This seems to him to be inevitable. Only one of two things can hinder it. "Nothing but partition," he says, "a difficult and unlikely international settlement; or a miraculous spread of Christianity in its best form, a not impossible, but scarcely to be hoped for, religious triumph, will defer, will avert, this result."

Whether or not Sir Robert Hart is right in forecasting that the Yellow Question will resolve itself into a military peril must be a matter for speculation. The events that have taken place since the words were quoted; the marvellous development of Japan as one of the greatest military powers of the world; her steady course of victory, by land and sea, over the vast power of Russia;—these things certainly go far towards giving a very tangible shape to these visions of the future. For there can be very little doubt that the future development of China will henceforth, for many years to come, depend very largely upon the influence of Japan. Already China is turning to the formerly despised Japanese for guidance and instruction. The Yellow Question must be one concerning the future influence not of China only, but of the two great "yellow" races, the Chinese and Japanese. The two races will act together, and the influence of the two races, when both are thoroughly awakened, upon the world, must be enormous. And if it should be that the peace-loving Chinese should be permeated and

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changed by the martial spirit of Japan, the result, it would seem, can be nothing but disastrous.

To my mind the vision of the Yellow Peril, considered as a military one, is not likely to find its fulfilment. The Chinese are not a martial race,[1] nor have they the ambition to subjugate other lands and races. It is one thing for a small section of the nation, stung to the quick by a succession of real wrongs, wrought by foreigners, to rise and endeavour to thrust forth the hated representatives of Western nations from their country; it is quite another thing for the nation itself to arm with a view to the invasion and subjugation of other lands. But that there must very soon be a Yellow Question, nay even a Yellow Peril, a peril, that is, of a non-military invasion of Western lands by the Yellow races, an invasion which will bring with it many complex and difficult, even dangerous, questions, commercial, social, intellectual, spiritual; that I consider to be beyond all doubt. For it is not likely that these two great nations will, when they feel their strength, continue to endure patiently the humiliating conditions at present imposed upon one of them by Western nations. Japan has already matched her strength successfully with one of the greatest of the world's powers. She has already asserted with success her claim to be treated on equal

[1] The commercial and unwarlike spirit of the Chinese is often dwelt upon. We ought, however, to give weight to the facts, (*a*) that every page of Chinese history is marked by war; there have been constant wars within (Meadows remarks that the Chinese are "the most rebellious and least revolutionary of peoples"), and not infrequently the bounds of the empire have been extended by wars of conquest; and (*b*) that the Chinese are a people of tremendous energy, and that it is, after all, a matter of circumstances whether that energy is to find its outlet in one way or another—in a commercial or a military direction. The old Phoenicians, as Mommsen points out, were a peaceable and commercial race, but they waged great wars and produced a Hannibal.



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terms by Western Powers. Is it likely that China when awakened, with her strong commercial instincts and her teeming millions of population, will submit to the present unequal relations which exist between the white and the yellow races? Will she continue to allow Europeans of all classes, and very often of most inferior classes, to wander at liberty throughout her land, whilst her own sons are either debarred from entry into other lands by stringent laws, or a prohibitive poll-tax; or are admitted only on terms of servitude, as beings of an inferior genus, for the purpose merely of physical labour, with every avenue of advancement closed to them? It will be a strange thing if these two great nations submit much longer to such conditions as these. It seems inevitable that "the open door" must admit of egress as well as ingress, and that if the white races claim the right to live, and work, and carry on commerce, in China and Japan, the same rights will be claimed, and in due time claimed successfully, by the two great yellow races.

And when this takes place, what will the result be? Will it be great, or will it be small? Will it be for good, or will it be for evil? Will the yellow be absorbed in the white? Or will it make its influence to be felt, and deeply felt, amongst those races with which it mixes? These are questions which it is not easy to answer. But it is well worth our while to consider them. As regards the countries of Europe, already thickly populated even to overflowing, it does not seem probable that the wave of Chinese immigration should ever become large enough to have any very great effect. But as regards countries like South Africa, Australia, or the Western States of America, and Canada, with a sparse population, a demand for labour, and vast unoccupied tracts of habitable country, it seems most probable that, if the present artificial barriers should be broken down, there may be

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a flood of immigrants from China, which, if it does not swamp the white element, must at least seriously affect the commercial, social, and moral life of those countries. For it must be remembered that the Chinese, no less, certainly, perhaps even more, than the Japanese, are a powerful race even now—powerful, that is, in the force of character and in their capacity for affairs. No merchant in the East can afford to despise the Chinaman as a man of commerce. His industry, his ability, his reliability, all combine to make him a formidable rival to any European competitor; his power of combination for purposes of trade, and the manner in which he holds to his fellow-countrymen as against the foreigner, enables him, in his own land at any rate, to dictate terms to the European. And in other respects it is, I think, impossible to say that the Chinaman is inferior intellectually to the European. His method of education is different from ours, it has been very different for centuries, and it is the fashion to speak with contempt of his methods; but whether it be as the result of, or in spite of, his methods, the intellectual power of the present generation of Chinese is, without gainsaying, very remarkable. It would be interesting to hear how an advocate for the principle of heredity would explain the fact that a race whose educational training has been for centuries purely classical; whose standard of excellence, by which all candidates for office have been judged, consisted in the power of writing artificial themes in hieroglyphic characters, can at once turn to Western subjects and methods, and show themselves the equals of those whose ancestors have long given their minds to such subjects. I have myself, when engaged in educational work in China, frequently been amazed at the aptitude with which my pupils have addressed themselves to the study of mathematics. In the schools of Hong Kong, where we have English and Chinese boys working

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side by side, the prizes are as commonly won by Chinese as by English, although the Chinese suffer from the grave disadvantage of being taught through the medium of a language which is not their own, and which they only partially understand. And many instances could be quoted of Chinese boys and men who have held their own and won prizes and honours in competitions in schools and colleges in England, Australia, and America. Either, it would seem, the principle of heredity is wrong, or the value of a purely classical training for developing the intellect of a race for general purposes must be greater than modern theories of education would admit. At any rate the Chinese and Japanese, whose educational system for centuries was conducted on much the same stereotyped lines, show that they are possessed of an intellectual power for scientific pursuits, and for practical affairs, which is in no respect inferior to that of Western nations.

Putting aside, then, for the purposes of this paper at any rate, the "serried ranks of millions of armed Boxers," the Yellow Question resolves itself into this, What will be the effect of the possible, it may be probable, immigration into countries now occupied chiefly by Europeans, of many millions of the yellow races, full of physical strength and vigour, active both in body and mind, of unsurpassed industry, and with an inexhaustible supply of their fellow-countrymen behind them, from which to recruit their forces? To my own mind—and I write as one who loves and admires the Chinese—the result both on those countries into which such an immigration should take place, and on the world in general, must be bad. I know indeed that the Chinese are a quiet, orderly race, well content to live under good laws, not even ambitious to have their share in the making of the laws. I know, too, that by their steady labour they would

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increase, as they have done, for instance, in the tropical States Settlements, the material wealth of the countries in which they lived. But after saying all this, I am strongly convinced that the immigration of large numbers of Chinese into countries occupied by Europeans, would be to the injury of the moral and social life of the world. The only thing that would be likely to avert or to mitigate the evil would be the second of the two alternatives suggested by Sir Robert Hart, namely, "the miraculous spread of Christianity in its best form, a not impossible, but scarcely to be hoped for, religious triumph."

For it must be borne in mind that mere civilization is not sufficiently powerful to effect the necessary changes in the moral and social life of the Chinese. Civilization may lead them to adopt for their own use, and even to develop, the products of modern Western science. Civilization may lead them to change some of their habits of life, to wear different clothes, or to eat different food in a different way. But history gives us no instance of civilization changing the moral nature of a nation. It did not do so in Greece; it did not do so in Rome; it has not done so in modern nations which have adopted civilization without Christianity. Nor has it done so, so far as the experiment has been tried, amongst those Chinese who have more or less adopted Western civilization, whilst still untouched by the Divine life of Christianity. To take but a single instance, the matter of marriage and concubinage. Many a sad story could be told of women of Western race, who have married Chinese in England or Australia, under British law, and who have come to China to find that they are not even wives in name. And it is, I fear, undeniably true that amongst the wealthy non-Christian Chinese, who in places like Shanghai and Hong Kong have

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adopted much of European civilization, or at any rate are largely influenced by it, the standard of morality as regards marriage and concubinage is certainly not higher than it is amongst the upper classes in China itself. It needs, as Sir Robert Hart has said, the spread of Christianity in its best form to avert the otherwise inevitable evil, which must attend a great influx of the yellow races into countries such as those which I have mentioned.[1]

Have we, then, any reason to hope for any such rapid spread of Christianity? Is it probable that the flood of emigration from China will be so permeated by Christianity as to render it innocuous, or even beneficial, to the world? It would seem that the answer to this question must be in the negative. I do not, of course, deny for a moment the power of the Holy Spirit of God to effect the conversion of the Chinese race within any limited space of time. But in treating of such matters we must be guided by the analogy of God's dealings in the past; and as we study the pages of history, we see that the conversion of nations has been a slow process; that it took centuries for the gospel to spread even through our own land, and that at a time when the population of England probably did not exceed that of many a single prefecture in one of the eighteen provinces of China at the present time. Unless, therefore, there should be some marked Divine interposition, a "miraculous spread of Christianity in its best form," we have every reason to expect that we shall have to face an emigration

[1] The longer one lives and works in China, the stronger becomes his conviction that, however much the Chinese may gain from Western civilization, there is no force except Christianity which can really renovate this race. In all their life and in all their undertakings it is apparent that the thing which is lacking is not intellectual ability, but moral and spiritual power—a power which Christ alone can give.

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of masses of those who are still in heathenism, who will carry with them the thoughts, the habits, the morals of heathen. We must look for the spread of heathen, not of Christian, Chinese throughout the world.

When I say this, I would not be thought for a moment to speak lightly of the present results of missionary work in China, or to undervalue the great things which God has done for us who are labouring for the spread of the gospel in that "Glorious Land." It is, as we know, the habit of some to depreciate the work of missions, and to speak of the results of such work as having no real value. But such people speak without knowledge, or from very imperfect knowledge, of facts. So far as my own reading of history goes, I consider that the history of missions in China fully justifies the statement that Christianity has spread, and is spreading in China, as rapidly and effectively as it has ever done in any civilized country in the world. In weighing this statement it must be borne in mind that continuous missionary work has only been carried on in China for a comparatively short time. It is true that so far back as the sixth century of our era, Nestorian missionaries made their way to the Far East and preached the gospel in Si-ngan Fu and elsewhere. And again in the thirteenth century, Friar John of Monte Corvino, the Franciscan, went forth as a pioneer missionary from the Church of Rome to China. His efforts, in spite of opposition from the Nestorians, appear to have met with marked success. We read of six thousand baptisms in eleven years, of the building of a church, and the translation of the New Testament and Psalter. But whether it was that the foundations were not laid deep enough, or whether it was that he did not receive sufficient support from the Home Church (a not uncommon fate of the missionary!), the work of Friar John did not long survive him. Seven Franciscan bishops

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were consecrated by Pope Clement, and sent out to join him. Only two of them reached Pekin, and they, by the Pope's order, consecrated Friar John Archbishop of Cambalu. But after his death in 1330 no successor was appointed, and after the lapse of a few years the mission became extinct, owing in the first instance, it would appear, to the bitter persecution of the Christians in Eastern and Central Asia by the Turks and the Tartars. There is the record of the martyrdom of a bishop and many followers in 1362.

It can hardly be necessary to dwell here on the later establishment of the Roman missions in the sixteenth century. The story of Xavier dying on the rocky island of San Chuan opposite the mouth of the Pearl River, with his eyes fixed on the closed land which he yearned to enter, is familiar to all. The names of Matthew Ricci, who entered China just thirty years after the death of Xavier in 1582; of Adam Schaal, who succeeded Ricci as head of the Astronomical Board in Pekin in 1628; of Verbuist, who held the same post in the reign of K'ang Hsi, stand out as being only somewhat more conspicuous than other noted men of the Roman Church, who followed Xavier, and succeeded in obtaining an entrance where he had failed. Their eminent scientific and linguistic talents procured them entrance even into the Imperial City of Pekin itself; and during the last years of the Ming dynasty, and the early years of the present dynasty, their influence in the Imperial Court was very great; and in other parts of the empire the work of conversion proceeded rapidly. But difficulties arose amongst the Roman missionaries themselves. The Jesuits made Church membership easy by allowing their converts to continue the worship of ancestors and of Confucius, considering that these rites were merely civil and secular. The Franciscans and Dominicans, on the other hand, condemned

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these practices as idolatrous. Further disputes arose about Christian terminology in Chinese, especially about the best term to be used for "God." The Jesuits appealed to the Emperor, the other party to the Pope. Three Popes in succession issued contradictory decrees about these questions. The last of these, Pope Clement XI., finally decided, in direct opposition to the Emperor K'ang Hsi, that no Chinese Christian should ever practise the rites and usages complained of. The result was persecution, in a comparatively mild form at first, whilst K'ang Hsi lived; but after his death, his successor, Yung Cheng, issued an edict proscribing the Christian religion, on the ground that the Christians would only obey their priests, and made themselves independent of Chinese law. From that time until the last century the Roman missions were carried on under great difficulties, and in the midst of a great deal of persecution. Nevertheless, the numbers of the converts continued to grow, and though it is often objected that they were but little instructed, and that their Christianity was but nominal, yet it must be remembered that, during the eighteenth century, many, not only of the European missionaries, but also of the Chinese converts, laid down their lives in martyrdom for their faith.

Since the year 1840, which witnessed our first war with China, and the consequent opening of the five Treaty Ports, the facilities for carrying on missionary work have been steadily increased, and the Roman missions have not been slow to avail themselves of them. Large and beneficent institutions have sprung up in important centres, and congregations have been formed in scattered places far and wide throughout the empire. Mr. Clement Allen, formerly of H.M. Consular Service in China, writing in "The East and the West," in April, 1905, states on good authority that "there are in China missions

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under the direction of ten different orders. These contain thirty-eight bishops and vicars apostolic, two apostolic prefects, and 1622 priests, of whom 1141 are European and 481 native. The number of converts, without including catechumens, who are very numerous in some dioceses, amounts to over 783,000."[1]

Judging from these figures, Roman missions in China may certainly be credited with very considerable success. It is not, however, easy to estimate the true value of this work. I do not, in thus writing, refer to the matter of our doctrinal differences with Rome; nor indeed am I in a position to state how far the errors of Rome are allowed, in the case of the majority of Chinese converts, to obscure the common and fundamental truths of Christianity. I leave, therefore, that matter untouched. The difficulty to which I refer arises from the political influence which the Roman Church has continuously exercised. With the French Government posing as the protector of Roman missions, the bishops and priests of that communion have assumed the status, and in many cases have claimed the authority, of mandarins. Their interference in the Chinese courts of justice in behalf of their adherents has been a chronic grievance with the Chinese Government, and has been not infrequently the cause of political disturbances. But it has made it a profitable thing, from the worldly point of view, to become an adherent, and it is a common practice in many parts of the empire for Chinese to

[1] The latest figures for the Roman missions will be found on pp. 675–677 of MacGillivray's "A Century of Missions in China," a work published by the Centenary Conference in China this spring (1907). They are as follows:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bishops | | 44 |
| European priests | 1206 | |
| Chinese priests | 550 | |
| | | 1756 |
| Christians | | 950,058 |

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enrol their names on the list of adherents, in order that they may claim, and claim effectually, the help and protection of the Roman priest, both in civil and criminal cases. It may be that the Roman Church would defend this practice on the principle that thus "every kind" is gathered into the drag-net, and that only the "good" are gathered into the vessels and baptized, whilst the "bad" are cast away. But in any case the practice is a very dangerous one, and it makes it difficult to estimate the true value of Roman statistics. Moreover, the practice of baptizing large numbers of the children of heathen, many of them at the point of death, adds a further element of uncertainty as regards these figures. In the province of Si-chuan alone 85,000 children of heathen parents were baptized in 1899. The baptism of 41,000 pagan children at the point of death was reported by the Jesuit Mission at Shanghai in 1898.[1] It would be interesting to know what place such baptisms take in the statistics quoted above.

[1] "Christian Missions in the Far East," p. 53. S.P.C.K.

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## CHAPTER II

### Chinese Christianity

Non-Roman missions and statistics—Sectarian Divisions—Use of foreign money—Characteristics of Chinese Christianity—Steadfastness under persecution—Diligence in Evangelization—Practical nature of Chinese Christianity—Church discipline—Practical nature of Chinese thought—Unity in variety.

When we turn from Roman to Protestant missions, we are met at once with a great disparity in the number of converts. But this admits of a very simple explanation. Roman missions have been at work in China for more than three hundred years; Protestant missions have not been seriously at work in that field for much more than half a century. The London Missionary Society, the American Board of Foreign Missions, the Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, which commenced operations in 1807, 1830, and 1835 respectively, are the only three Protestant missionary societies which were at work in China before the year 1842. Since that date Protestant societies have multiplied rapidly, and we see now some twenty-three British, thirty-three American, and twelve continental societies which have missions, more or less strong, in China; but the establishment of many of these missions is of very recent date, and the results of their work are consequently at present very meagre. According to statistics compiled by Mr. Harlan P. Beach, of New York, in 1903, the total aggregate of European and American agents at work in

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China were as follows: Ordained men, 610; unordained men, 578; wives of missionaries, 772; other missionary women, 825; whilst the native workers, ordained and unordained, and of both sexes, numbered 6388. As Mr. Beach does not reckon in his statistics baptized children and converts who are not communicants, it is impossible to state exactly the number of those who have been baptized; but his figures show a total of 112,808 communicants, and 91,864 adherents who are not communicants. Later statistics, published by the same gentleman, show that in January, 1904, the total number of communicants was 131,000.

At first sight it might seem that the increase of some 18,000 in the figures given for 1904 over those published in 1903 must indicate some error of calculation. But I venture to think that this is not the case. The progress of Protestant missions in China has, almost from the first, been remarkably rapid. This is owing, under God, to the zeal of the Chinese converts in spreading the gospel. Of this characteristic of Chinese Christianity I propose to treat at length hereafter; at present it is my purpose to call attention to the rate at which converts are being gathered in. The common belief is that progress in China has been, and is, very slow; but the statistics collected by Mr. Beach would show that the contrary is the case. I quote his own words:—

"Between 1865 and 1875 the yearly increase averaged about 1000. During the next decade it averaged 1500. Between 1886 and 1889 it was at the rate of about 3000 per year. From 1889 to 1893 it averaged 4500, and from 1893 to 1900 the average growth was over 8000 per year. After the Boxer outbreak there was, of course, a temporary arrest in the growth, which lasted for nearly two years. In spite of this, however, the growth between the 1st of January, 1900, and the same date in 1904, was nearly

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19,000. It will be noted that since 1886 the number of Christians has doubled about once in seven years. It would not be surprising if, on account of the Boxer interruption, this same rate failed to hold good between 1900 and 1907, yet there are signs that the communicant membership on January 1, 1907, is not likely to fall short of 200,000. One of these signs is the fact that the statistics available for last year, though incomplete, are sufficiently full to warrant us in believing that the numerical growth in 1904 alone was as great as during the whole four years preceding, making the total communicant membership on January 1, 1905, probably not less than 150,000." [1]

The rate of progress here indicated is truly amazing. In a paper written by the late Bishop Lightfoot, of Durham, in 1872, on "The Comparative Progress of Ancient and Modern Missions," the bishop showed that, so far as could be argued from the available statistics, in the year 250 A.D., when Cornelius was Bishop of Rome, the Church in Rome, after more than two centuries from its foundation, numbered some 50,000 Christians, being

[1] The latest statistics, to the end of 1905, are as follows:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Number of societies | | 68 |
| Missionaries— | | |
| Men | 1443 | |
| Wives | 1038 | |
| Women | 964 | |
| | | 3445 |
| Chinese workers— | | |
| Ordained | 345 | |
| Unordained | 5722 | |
| Bible women | 887 | |
| Hospital assistants | 367 | |
| School teachers | 2583 | |
| | | 9904 |
| Baptized Christians | | 178,251 |

Counting the baptisms for the time from December, 1905, to the present, and bearing in mind that the returns are confessedly incomplete, there are probably now (May, 1907) fully 200,000 Christians.

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about one-twentieth of the population of the city. He also showed that four hundred years after Christ, the Church at Antioch, after Christianity had had the favour of imperial sanction for some sixty years, numbered about 100,000. The present rate of progress in China would lead to far greater results than that, both in the great cities and in the country districts, in a much shorter period. It has been estimated that it is good progress if a mission doubles the number of its converts in twenty years. In China, according to the statistics above quoted, the number of Christians is doubling itself once in seven years. And the most encouraging feature of this progress is that the momentum steadily increases. Missionary work is, of course, not a mere matter of arithmetic. Many causes may intervene, many causes are sure to intervene, some of which may retard, some accelerate the work; but so far as numbers of converts can be taken as evidence of success, we have every cause to be thankful; and the steadiness of the progress, with its steadily increasing momentum, afford great encouragement with regard to the future.

The one point which may lead us to hesitate with regard to the future of Protestant Christianity in China is as elsewhere, the number of different sections into which Protestant missions are divided. There are altogether sixty-three different missionary societies at work. These do not, of course, all represent different forms of religious belief, or of Church organization. The Anglican Communion, for instance, is represented by agents of five different societies, which work in various parts of China, but which are united in principles and in practice.[1] But

[1] At a representative Conference of the Anglican Communion in China, held at Shanghai in April, 1907, the eight dioceses, English and American, were unified, and the work of formal organization into one general Synod is to be completed at the next Conference, to be held in March, 1909.

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in spite of the fact that God has manifestly blessed our work, and that the progress made by the missions, both of the Church of England and of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, will compare well with that of any other missions; nevertheless, we are but few in the land, and the united total of the communicants of the Anglican Communion, as stated in the statistics published in 1903, referred to above, did not at that time reach 10,000,[1] or about one-twelfth of the total number of communicants. The Presbyterians,[2] again, are represented by several different societies, and have founded very strong Churches in various parts of the country. And so it is also with other English, American, and continental Churches. And whilst we may differ from these missions in some points of doctrine and of Church order, we cannot but recognize the fact that they do impress upon their converts the importance of sound teaching and of the maintenance of order. The same cannot be said of all the missionary societies at work. There are some who seem to allow their zeal for the proclamation of the word of salvation to overstep all limits, and who, by their example, would seem to teach the Chinese converts that all regular forms of ordination, or administration of sacraments, are of little, if of any, importance. Such a method of procedure cannot but give rise to grave misgivings with regard to the future. My own view as to what the outcome of this strangely heterogeneous evangelization of China is likely to be, I hope to state hereafter. For the present, it will serve for our encouragement to quote a passage from the essay by Bishop Lightfoot, to which reference has been made above. He writes ("Historical Essays," p. 89):—

[1] In December, 1905, there were 22,055 Christians of the Anglican Communion ("A Century of Missions in China," p. 674).

[2] The Presbyterian missions in China, British and American, have this year been federated in one body.

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"We hear much of the obstacles thrown in the way of missionary success by the divisions between Christian and Christian. We may, indeed, quote the high authority of Sir B. Frere for saying that this hindrance is much less on the spot than it appears at a distance. But let it be granted that we have here a most serious impediment to our progress. Was there nothing corresponding to it in the first ages of the Church? We need only recall the names of Ebionites, Basilideans, Ophites, Valentinians, Marcionites, and numberless other heretical sects—differing from each other, and from the Catholic Church, incomparably more widely in creed than the Baptist differs from the Romanist—to dispel this illusion at once. The sectarian divisions of the early Christians supply their heathen adversary Celsus with a capital argument against the claims of the gospel and the Church. *Nos passi graviora.* We have surmounted worse obstacles than these of the day."[1]

From this brief sketch of the progress of Christianity in China, it will be seen that those who have the cause of missions at heart have no cause for despondency, but rather for encouragement and thanksgiving. God hath done, and is doing, great things. But, nevertheless, when we put the Christian population in China, or even all those who are influenced by Christianity, into numerical comparison with the heathen population, they form but a very small fraction of the whole. It is not large enough

[1] Since this passage was written more has happened than the writer could have anticipated. The Centenary Conference, consisting of four hundred and forty delegates from all the missions in China, has met, and a unity of purpose and of belief has been developed beyond what was dreamed of as possible. Sectarian differences sank into the background before the assertion of the Conference of its desire to found "one Church in China," and its acknowledgment of the faith contained in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds. See Report of Conference, First Day's Proceedings.



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to have any perceptible influence on even the small numbers of emigrants who are now to be found in Australia, South Africa, America, and other parts of the world. The Christian Chinese who are to be found in those parts have, for the most part, become Christian after they have left their own homes. The future world influence of the yellow race, therefore, for a long time to come, must be reckoned with as non-Christian.

It is, however, possible that the Chinese Christian Church may exert an influence elsewhere, long before it has effectually leavened the Chinese race. At present it is in its infancy, but we must not think that it is necessary to wait for the conversion of the whole race, even to a nominal Christianity, before we may hope to see the Chinese Church entering the comity of Churches, and in fulness of independent strength, bringing its influence to bear upon the life and thought of Catholic Christendom. I speak of this as a hope, and a reasonable hope, though I confess that sometimes the prospect is disheartening. Of the spread of the gospel in China, of the conversion of thousands, and tens of thousands, of Chinese to faith in Christ in the near future; of the rapid formation and growth, by God's grace, of countless Christian congregations in China, we need have no doubt. But real independence seems at present to be beyond the range of our sight. For our modern missions, whilst manifestly effective in the spread of the gospel, seem to fail very markedly in the establishment of independent native Churches. Nor are the causes for this failure far to seek. In the first place the multiplicity of sects, though not antagonistic to evangelization, militates strongly against independence. The European missionary seems to consider that he must plant his own particular form of Christianity, and Church government, and order, amongst his converts. He is jealous of any departure from that

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form. Consequently he is not content to plant a Church and let it develop on its own lines, "giving it," to quote a dictum of a former bishop in Japan, "the Bible and the Nicene Creed;" but he and his successors must watch over it and guard it, lest others should come in and introduce any deviation from the tenets in which they have been brought up. The native Christians are considered as babes; it is not thought safe to let them try to walk alone; the continual presence of a European overseer is considered to be essential.[1]

Then, again, the modern missionary has his own standard of Church life, a standard which is the outcome of nineteen centuries of Christian development in the West. Oblivious of the fact that for more than two centuries the Christians under the Roman Empire were not allowed to build churches, and therefore had to meet for worship in private houses, he considers that the first essential of a mission station is the erection of a church, with all the nineteenth-century accessories of public worship. And each small cluster of Christians must have its own paid pastor or reader. The result is that a standard is put before the infant Church which is entirely out of its reach; and a burden of expenditure is laid upon it which necessitates the lavish use of foreign money. And in our own Communion we teach the native Church

[1] Here again, the rapid changes that have taken place in China, require that a note should be added. The spirit of the Centenary Conference was wholly against the perpetuation of sectarian divisions. The growing independence of the native Church was freely recognised and is everywhere being provided for. Men look to seeing the Chinese taking their full part in the support and government of the Church. For instance, in the next Conference of the united Anglican Communion Chinese representatives will sit and vote equally with the English and American clergy. These were things which Bishop Hoare looked forward to longingly, and which he would specially have rejoiced to see.

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to regard a bishop as one who must have the oversight of a vast diocese; one who must in isolated dignity bear the ultimate responsibility of government over congregations scattered over an area often greater than that of the whole of the British Isles. Could we but revert to the ancient practice of having a bishop in every city, who, being one among many, could confer with his brethren from time to time, a great step would have been taken towards the establishment of independent native Churches. Then, again, it is considered necessary to plant the whole machinery of nineteenth-century Christian social organization in these infant Churches. Schools and colleges for imparting Western science, hospitals and dispensaries, asylums for the blind and the leprous, orphanages, charitable institutions of all kinds spring up, erected by foreign money, all over China. Far be it from me to depreciate works of charity; but, regarding the matter from the point of view of the development of independent native Churches, it is certainly possible to go too far in these matters. It is a remarkable fact, and one which calls for very serious consideration, that on our modern system the growth of a native Church, instead of leading to a diminished expenditure of foreign money, and the gradual withdrawal of European missionaries, almost invariably entails a greater demand both for foreign money and men for the carrying on of the Church work.

In spite of the development of a native pastorate, and of the increase of competent native evangelists and readers, a Church of ten thousand Chinese Christians is, through modern methods, often further from independence than in the very early stages of its growth. There are large areas in China in which the seed of the gospel has been planted, in which the Church is sufficiently developed to carry on its own work, and to act, as in ancient times, as leaven on the masses of heathen around it; but in

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which sectarian jealousy, nineteenth-century standards and the burden of a steadily increasing number of expensive charitable institutions, render the reduction of the staff of foreign labourers, and of the use of foreign money, impossible. These things may be conducive for the time to the spread of the gospel in China; they must certainly hinder the development of independence in the Chinese Church.[1]

Under these circumstances it is no easy task to attempt to forecast what the influence of Chinese Christianity will hereafter be on Catholic Christendom. That, in spite of hindrances, the Chinese will ultimately have their own independent Church (or Churches) we may consider certain; and the influence of that Church will make itself felt in the Body of Christ, even as the influence of the race will make itself felt in the world. But in the present state of tutelage and dependence, whilst the influence of the foreigner is apparent at every turn, it is not easy to discriminate between those features of Chinese Christianity which are the outcome of national characteristics, and those which are due to foreign influences. But in studying this question we have one method which may help us to arrive at a right conclusion. The foreign influences are many and various, the Chinese race is singularly homogeneous. Foreign missionaries of various races, with widely differing habits of thought, learned and unlearned, male and female, are busily employed in teaching Christianity under various forms, and with differing standards of faith and practice, to the Chinese. This is going on in all parts of the empire; sometimes in one prefecture we find several

[1] Nothing is more noticeable in the latest statistics than the great increase in the amount of money which is being contributed by Chinese Christians for Church support. It amounted in 1905 to Mexican $301,268, at present rates £32,757.

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bodies of Christians, developing side by side in close contiguity;[1] sometimes we find districts in which one body has the field to itself. Under these circumstances, amidst all these varieties of form, both of Christian teaching and of Church government, which are offered to, and accepted by, the Chinese, is it possible to trace any common features, characteristic of national Christianity, which assert themselves in spite of all these differences? Does the groundwork of Chinese national character, when brought under the influence of Christianity, exhibit itself in such a way as to enable us to forecast what the future characteristics of the Chinese Church are likely to be? I think that even now we have sufficient common features exhibited throughout the empire to afford data for an induction of the kind indicated, though it must, of course, be but an imperfect one.

The first marked characteristic, then, that I would notice is the steadfastness of the Chinese Christian under persecution, the willingness to endure hardship, and even death, for the sake of Christ. There has never been a time in the history of missions to China when the profession of Christianity did not entail the risk of persecution. Never was a more gross calumny invented than that which condemns the body of converts in China as being "rice-Christians." Even allowing for the fact that there may be some who join the Church in Treaty Ports, or in the immediate neighbourhood of the European missionary, in the hope of gaining some material advantage; yet it must be remembered that the vast majority

[1] In the Centenary Conference a scheme of federation was adopted by which, while the independence of the different bodies in doctrine and discipline is not infringed, the evils noted in this article will be minimized by mutual consultation, and common action so far as is practicable. See Report of Centenary Conference, "Comity and Federation."

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of converts are men and women who live far away in country districts, who are, as a rule, called out one by one, not in mass movements, from heathenism; and who, consequently, have to face individually the obloquy and contempt which are freely bestowed upon those who desert the ancestral religion and ally themselves with the religion of the "foreign devils." Nor is contempt the only weapon used against them. Bitter opposition in the family, exclusion from the clan and from the rights of clan-membership in property, loss of clan protection, which leaves the Chinaman like a tortoise without his shell, a prey to any one who chooses to attack him—these are some of the disabilities to which a Chinese convert is exposed. There can be but very few missionaries, if any, in China who have not personal knowledge of men and women who have seen their property destroyed, their trees cut down, their crops injured, their land stolen, or who have suffered personal violence, because they have become Christians. Nay, there must be many missionaries in China who have had personal knowledge of, and friendship with, converts who have been faithful unto death, and have laid down their lives for the gospel in as true a spirit of martyrdom as St. Stephen laid down his. Even before the year 1900 the blood of martyrs had been continually shed in China. And in that year it is beyond question that some thousands of Christians were slain in the Boxer rising. No doubt many of those were slaughtered like sheep, without the option of saving their lives by a denial of Christ; but this was far from being the case with all. In the autumn of that year a European gentleman came to my house in Hong Kong—a man who held an official position in the north of China. In the course of conversation he said to me, "If any one had asked me my opinion about missions in the beginning of this year, I should have said that missions were 'humbug,

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and the converts 'shams;' but I have entirely changed my mind now." I said that I was glad to hear this, and asked him what had led to this change of mind. He said, "I have, as you know, been living as consul at ——. Whilst there I have seen men and women brought down from the interior—some dead, brought down to be buried; others, mangled and wounded, brought down to be healed or to die in the hospitals. In my official capacity I had the opportunity of making inquiry as to the circumstances of their sufferings. In a large proportion of cases I found that these people had had the alternative put to them, 'Deny Christ, or die,' and they had deliberately chosen death. And never again will I say that the Chinese converts are shams." Numerous facts have been published, by eye-witnesses and others, from various parts of China, to the same effect; instances of noble steadfastness in the face of torture and death, or of heroic daring exhibited by weak men and women, in order to save the lives of the missionaries or their fellow-Christians. My own diocese was, in the mercy of God, untouched by massacre. There were some riots, and all the missionaries were, by order of the consuls, compelled to withdraw to the coast. The native clergy, catechists, and congregations were left to themselves, with the full knowledge that they were in extreme danger, that a word from the viceroy would cause a general conflagration and massacre. The clergy, being marked men, ran, of course, the greater risk. It had been easy for them to leave their posts, to move quietly to some place where they were unknown, and so make sure of their own safety. But not a man left his post; the congregations continued to meet for worship; the pastoral work was steadily carried on; and in the face of all the terrible danger some hundreds of converts were found ready to come forward and confess Christ in Holy Baptism. These facts certainly justify the statement,

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which would, I think, be indorsed by every missionary in China, that steadfastness under persecution is a marked feature of Chinese Christianity.

The second feature that I would notice is the diligence of the Chinese Christians in spreading the gospel. The gospel certainly spreads rapidly; the number of converts annually gathered in is very large. The statistics quoted above show that the number of Christians in China is doubled in every seven years. In the Fuh-kien Province alone, where the number of baptized members of our Church amounts to some ten or twelve thousand, I have confirmed annually over a thousand candidates, most of them adult converts from heathenism. And this ratio of increase is, I believe, common throughout the empire. Now, it is a noticeable fact that these converts are almost invariably brought out of heathenism, under God, through the instrumentality of Chinese Christians. Candidates for Baptism, when questioned as to whence they received their first impulse towards Christianity, will almost always say that the first impulse has come from a Chinese. Nor must we think that the Chinese who thus spread the gospel are the clergy and paid agents only. Large numbers of converts are brought in through the influence of the ordinary Chinese Christian, sometimes working in combination with the clergyman or catechist, sometimes working alone. The farmer talking with his fellows, the travelling tinker talking in the towns whilst he mends the pots and pans, the field labourer talking with his friend on the way to his work, the woman telling her husband or her neighbours of the new message of salvation which she has learned—these are the evangelists of China by whom the gospel is being spread. I am personally familiar with districts in which there are now strong and prosperous Churches, which have been planted and fostered entirely by native evangelists, with but scant

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superintendence on the part of the European missionary, who may be living in some far distant station. The gospel certainly works like leaven in China; those who are leavened become themselves leaven, and in their turn influence those around them.

And as regards the nature of the leaven, we have here also a very marked, though I hope not a distinctive, feature of Chinese Christianity. Christianity is with them a matter of practical life. They will not tolerate wickedness in the Church. Of course I do not mean to say that all Chinese Christians are holy; I do not even mean to say that the standard of holiness in the Churches is a very high one, though I do know many, very many, men and women whose life and conversation will compare well with the best and holiest in our Western Churches. But the mass of the Christians are but babes in Christ, new converts just emerging from heathenism, with old habits still clinging to them, and beset with temptations of all kinds owing to their heathen environment. We have therefore often to regret failures, especially in the matter of straightforwardness; and not infrequently have we to sorrow over lapses into grievous sin. But this sorrow is not felt only by the European missionary; the native Church itself is strong in its insistence that the life of its members must correspond with the faith they profess. This is shown very markedly in the exercise of discipline. Not infrequently have I known individual Christians to discipline themselves, and, rightly or wrongly, abstain from coming to the Holy Communion, because they are conscious that they have, in the matter of temper or in some other way, shown inconsistency. In the matter of admission to Holy Baptism, the Chinese Church is very strict. They will not knowingly admit any one whose conduct is such as might bring reproach upon the gospel. Where unsuitable persons have been

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admitted, it is more often than not owing to the action of the European, who, of course, has not similar facilities for testing the life of candidates. And with regard to those who have been admitted into the Church, strict watch is kept and careful discipline exercised, and the notorious sinner, whatever his position may be, will be suspended from the Holy Communion, or forbidden attendance at the Church services. In many respects the standard set by the native Churches is higher than that which prevails in Western lands. No opium-smoker, even in moderation; no drunkard; no one who plays cards for money, or gambles in other ways; no one who allows the marriage of his children with heathen, will be allowed to partake of the Sacraments. In fact, the danger is lest the Chinese Church should overburden itself with safeguards, and it has sometimes been found necessary to disallow rules of discipline which the native Christians had formulated, because they "fenced" the Lord's table too strictly. I have known cases in which the European missionary, pleading for leniency, has been overruled by the unanimous voice of the native Christians. I do not, of course, say that the Chinese Christians are always right in this matter; but it is a cause for great thankfulness that, to the Chinese, Christianity is so much a matter of practical life, and not merely a profession of belief.

And this leads us to a fourth characteristic of Chinese Christianity, one which underlies and in great measure explains the three which have already been noted. The Chinese are essentially practical in thought; they care but little for abstract speculations or theories. This is a race characteristic, and it finds its expression strongly in the Chinese Church. Their great philosopher Confucius deliberately declined to speculate on matters about which he had no certain knowledge; his teaching is essentially practical, and is directed to the ordering of

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life on moral principles. Mencius followed in his steps; but, though more interesting than Confucius to the Western mind, he is less so to the Chinese, because he indulges more in speculative theories. The Chinese Christian is of the same mind as his fellow-countrymen; it is the practical side of Christianity that attracts him, he cares little for abstract theology. It was my privilege for more than twenty years to have the training of the picked young men, candidates for Holy Orders and others, in the Mid-China Mission. In the course of that time I had perforce to ascertain what those students would assimilate, and what they would not. I found that it was invariably the practical side that appealed to them. Were we studying Scripture, they demanded the lessons that bore on practical life and conduct. They cared nothing for a disquisition on miracles, or distinctions drawn between "signs" and "wonders" and "powers;" they loved to study the miracle, and to learn what it taught them about the power and love of Christ, and its practical bearing upon themselves. That which could be proved to them, whether from Scripture or otherwise, they accepted gladly; that which rested on speculation they listened to without interest. The same characteristics are very noticeable throughout the Churches in China. They all accept the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity. That "The Father is God, and the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, and yet there are not three Gods but one God," the Chinese Christians all believe; they can prove it from Scripture. They have been led to see the sin and folly of idolatry, and have turned from idols to serve the living and true God. They have learned of the mediatorial work of God the Son, they trust in the Atonement wrought by Him, and in the fulness of His salvation; therefore it is that they are willing to suffer and die rather than lose their part in that salvation;

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therefore it is that they feel that they must tell others of the blessings which they have found. They believe strongly in the sanctifying power of the Holy Spirit. But into the mystery necessarily involved in the doctrine of the Trinity they do not wish to inquire. Controversies such as occupied the Greek mind, and which disturbed the Church during the first five centuries, with regard to this doctrine, would, I think, be impossible in China. It is difficult for the Chinese mind to understand how the Church should have been brought to a breach of unity by such a question as that of the "Filioque." In his religious thought, as in his religious life, the Chinese Christian is essentially practical.

This very practical view of Christianity produces another very marked characteristic in the Chinese Churches. In spite of the immense variety of teaching which they receive; in spite of the fact that converts are being gathered in by missions of many different nationalities and great variety of sects, there is a very great and very real sense of unity, of the oneness in Christ, of all who are called by His Name. Here, again, we see reproduced in the Church a marked national characteristic. The Chinese race, though spread over an immense territory, the whole of which is densely populated, exhibit in an extraordinary way a unity in the midst of variety. The man from Shantung differs widely both in appearance and in habits from the man in Chekiang. The Chekiang man differs from the Fuh-kienese; the Fuh-kienese, again, differs very widely from the Cantonese. Nevertheless, they are all markedly Chinese, not only in their physical features, but also in their main national characteristics. Their dialects vary. Of the four types which have just been mentioned, each one would be entirely unintelligible to the other in speech, but the same written language is read by all, and

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forms the basis of every variety of dialect. Differences of character, of course, exist in infinite variety, yet the same virtues and the same vices seem to underlie them all. Each province, each district, is broken up into a vast number of families and clans. Each family, each clan, has its own system of clan government, by which their villages are ruled. Nevertheless, the system of clan government is identical throughout the empire. National sentiment may not be strong in the sense in which Western nations understand it. The south may remain almost unmoved, whilst the north is in the agonies of a disastrous war, as was the case in the war between China and Japan in 1895–1896; but yet the nation is one, and the race feeling against foreigners is the same throughout the whole country. Wherever he lives, whatever his rank in life or occupation may be, in spite of great variety the Chinaman is a Chinaman, linked together with the rest of his race by strongly marked characteristics.

And so it is with the Chinese Christians. They have been taught by various teachers. One man has been taught that this form of Christianity is right, another that that form is right; one man has been taught that Episcopacy is the one true form of Church government; another has been taught that the Baptist system alone is Scriptural; another has been taught that all systems of Church government are wrong. In some cases the missionaries themselves have endeavoured to brand, and to lead their converts to avoid, members of other communions, as being aliens to the truth. But in spite of all these things, when Chinese Christian meets with Chinese Christian, he welcomes him as a brother in Christ; he ignores the differences of denomination, and recognizes him as being equally with himself a member of the Body of Christ. In the midst of variety the sense of unity triumphs.

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Is it not possible that this may be the chief lesson which the Church of China in the future may have to teach Christendom? In speaking of the future it is, of course, impossible to speak with any kind of certainty; but looking on Chinese Christianity as we see it now, it seems by no means improbable that, before many decades have passed, the Chinese Christians may turn round upon their teachers and say, "We will have none of these artificial differences interposed between us and our brethren." Already we see tendencies in that direction. Members of different denominations are drawing together for purposes of education, and even training of agents. Chinese Christians of all denominations are banding themselves together for common work independent of sectarian differences. Others have even united to form a Church of their own, which, drawing members from all bodies, shall organize and maintain its own form of government on Chinese lines. I mention these things, not as being in agreement with all that is done, but as indications of a tendency towards a realization of unity which are already apparent.

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## CHAPTER III

### China's Contribution

**Reasons for growth in unity—Realization of oneness in fundamental truths—Realization of brotherhood in Christ—Chinese national and family characters—Ties—Unity in variety—Love of "order" and subordination to authority.**

There are two reasons which lead me to consider it probable that this lesson of unity, in spite of variety, may be the one which Chinese Christianity is to teach Catholic Christendom. In the first place, there is that which I have already indicated, the extremely practical nature of Chinese thought. Now, it must be remembered that the Chinese approach the question of Church government and Church organization from a wholly different point of view to what Westerns do. We are brought up in our various communions, and it is a comparatively rare thing for any one to question the soundness of his position. We naturally adhere to the body in which we have found ourselves, and in the principles of which we have been instructed. But the Chinaman has been brought up in heathenism. Out of heathenism he has been brought to *Christ*, for few, if any, evangelists, in preaching to heathen, would attempt to complicate the question of faith by the introduction of denominational differences. When the convert is baptized his knowledge is probably confined to the main outlines of the Christian faith, as embodied, say, in the Apostles' Creed. He probably does not even know, he certainly does not consider, whether there is

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any difference between an Anglican, or a Presbyterian, or a Baptist. The practical point in his mind is that he is a sinner, that Christ is a Saviour, and that through Baptism he is brought into covenant union with Christ. After his baptism he is further taught in the principles of Christianity, and also in the particular principles of the mission which he has joined. Of the latter he will accept so much as he can understand; it may even be the case that he will become an eager partisan and advocate for his own denomination. But then the practical side of the Chinese character comes in. He sees side by side with himself many other Christians, who, like himself, have been brought out of heathenism. He sees that they have also been baptized into Christ, but by the agents of some other society. He sees that they believe the same gospel, acknowledge the same Lord, hold the same Faith. He sees that they bring forth the same fruits of righteousness in their lives, that they are inspired by the same Spirit. As he travels in the course of business, he attends the services of the Christians in whatever place he may be. He finds that he is welcomed as a brother in Christ; and even though he may not like their special form of service, yet he finds that the main substance of their teaching is the same as that which he has been taught. He converses with the pastors of other denominations, and he finds them to be, as Chinese pastors generally are, men of different attainments, indeed, but men of solid worth, of real piety, of true Christian zeal; and he sees the fruit of their work in the winning of souls and the foundation and building up of Churches. And when the fire of persecution breaks out, he sees his fellow-Christians of all denominations boldly confessing Christ, and laying down their lives for His Name's sake. It is impossible for his practical mind to accept the proposition, even if it has been taught him, that, owing to some ecclesiastical



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difference, these men stand in a different relation to Christ to what he does. He may have been taught by his European instructor that a man who has been baptized in infancy is not really baptized; or that a Sacrament is no true Sacrament unless it is administered by one ordained in some special manner; or that the wearing of a surplice is a mark of the Beast; but to his practical mind there is nothing in comparison with facts, and when he sees that God gives to others the like gifts as He gives to himself and those of the body to which he belongs; that others also, of many and various denominations, are indeed baptized with the Holy Ghost, he will not believe that the grace of God is in any way confined to one particular system of Church organization. He may still very probably hold to the view that the system under which he has been taught and trained is the best and the most Scriptural; but, in spite of that, he will acknowledge an essential unity underlying the diversity, and will tend to draw towards his fellow-Christians as being indeed brethren in Christ.

But another reason can, I think, be found for this sense of unity amongst Christians, which is so strongly manifested amongst the Chinese. This is the principle of filial piety, and of consequent brotherhood, which is inculcated by China's sages, and which largely pervades Chinese life. It has been suggested that one great influence which Chinese Christianity may have upon Catholic Christendom may be the deepening of the sense of the Fatherhood of God. Whether this may be the case or not, I do not propose to discuss now. It does seem to be probable that Chinese Christianity will tend to deepen the sense of the common brotherhood of Christians, as being the children of the one Divine Father. Attention has already been called to the importance of the family and clan in China. Membership in a family,

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descent from a common ancestor, form a claim for sympathy and help which is always recognized. And, passing from the family to the nation, it is not too much to say that the national sense of unity in the midst of vanity is largely based on the principle which recognizes the emperor as the father of his people. "Within the four seas all are brethren." And so it seems to be with the Chinese Christians. The recognition of the Fatherhood of God leads to the acknowledgment of the brotherhood of all those who are called the children of God. Whether the Chinese will have anything to teach Western Christians as regards the Fatherhood of God is, I think, open to question. Few will be disposed to argue, in view of all the unhappy divisions of Western Christendom, that we of the West have not much to learn with regard to the brotherhood, and essential unity, of those who are God's people. It would, indeed, be a glorious mission if God were to put into the hands of the Chinese Church of the future the work of illustrating, it may be of restoring, the *oneness* of the Body of Christ.

But if this is to be their message, in what manner will it be delivered? The mind, as it dwells on this prospect, would fain forecast the manner in which this unity will finally be presented. But this is indeed no easy question to answer. Will the present unity in the midst of variety continue? Will the numberless denominations, into which the members of the one Body are now divided, be perpetuated? There are two leading features of Chinese life which seem to conduct us to exactly opposite conclusions. In the first place, it is quite in accord with Chinese habits of thought that the life of the nation should be broken up into numerous sections, without any breach in the unity of the nation. In all parts of the empire we find clans and families governing themselves. The Chinese love to form innumerable societies or clubs,

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for political, social, or financial purposes. Yet the nation remains one, and acknowledges but one head; nor does the thought of division or separation appear to enter into the minds of those who are members of these clans or societies. And so it may be that it may be given to the Church of China to illustrate in practical life that which we Westerns have failed to recognize, viz. that it is possible to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, in spite of denominational differences; to acknowledge one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, and so to live together and work together as brethren, children of the one Father; and at the same time to allow liberty of opinion and practice in matters of Church government.

And yet there is another feature of the Chinese character which seems, as I have said, to lead us to an opposite conclusion. The leading principle of Confucianism, a principle which has permeated the whole nation, is "order," due subordination to authority. They have their sectional clan governments, by which the family or clan is practically governed—it is not uncommon for the clan authorities even to exercise the power of life and death. But yet behind, or rather, above, the clan is the official, and above the official is the viceroy, and above him, again, is the emperor. With a vast amount of independent self-government, the one-man rule is nevertheless fully recognized, and the Chinese spirit of order leads the people to accept it as the natural and best principle. And this we see also to be a present feature of Chinese Christianity. Wherever a body of converts has been gathered together they have shown a remarkable aptitude for self-government, through local Church councils, under whatever name they may be called. Yet at the same time (I am speaking now of non-episcopal missions) there is always a tendency to acknowledge, and a readiness to

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submit to, the ruling of one man, at present usually, though not invariably, the foreign missionary. To me it seems not improbable that, as time goes on, and the foreign missionaries pass away, the native Churches will still, from their sense of order, require that some one man should have authority, and will take measures for his due appointment. And so gradually the Church in China may come to acknowledge, and seek for, the benefits of the historic episcopate. But if this should be the case, it will, I think, be, as I have indicated, a natural evolution from the Chinese habits of life and love of order. It will not be brought about by the pressing of claims which the bulk of Chinese Christians, from the very circumstances of their early training in the faith, not to mention the strong independence of their character, would be slow to recognize.[1]

[1] With the statements concerning the character of the Chinese Christians and with the general conclusions of the paper I agree. It is reasonably certain that if the influence of the foreign missionaries were withdrawn, the Chinese Christians would coalesce into one body. This is becoming so apparent that the opinion of the Centenary Conference was expressed very plainly that we are being forced by this fact to insist upon our essential unity, and to teach only what is really fundamental in faith and order. It looks as if China were going to teach the world that the things which divide Christians are as nothing to the things which unite them. The Anglican Communion has a grave responsibility at this juncture. She is setting her own house in order that, through the heritage of the Catholic Faith and Order which she holds, she may perhaps in God's providence be used for great ends in the future Church of China.

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# V

# MOHAMMEDAN RACES: THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE BODY OF CHRIST

By the Bishop of Lahore

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# MOHAMMEDAN RACES: THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE BODY OF CHRIST

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BISHOP OF LAHORE

## CHAPTER I

### ISLAM: ITS MERITS AND FAILURES

Limitations of the writer—God's Sovereignty and Unity—Objectivity of Mohammedan Creed in doctrine and in worship—Deficiencies of the Creed in its doctrine of God—Practical results of such deficiencies—Significance of epithets, "The Compassionate," etc.—Firm belief in fact of Revelation—Doctrine of Brotherhood.

AT the very outset it must be noted that this contribution will not attempt to deal with racial characteristics, in the same sense as, presumably, the chapters on China, Japan, or India will deal with them. The contributions to the fulness of the life of the Church of Christ which I have primarily in view in writing, are those which result from the characteristics of a religious system rather than of a nationality or race. It is, indeed, one of the most striking proofs of the strength of the creed of Islam that it does thus force into the background—at any rate, to a considerable degree—the distinguishing racial characteristics of the peoples to which it has come, and supersede them by a mind, a character, a life which is primarily and unmistakably the outcome of the creed itself. The Mohammedan type of character is as definite and clear-cut a thing as possible, and can be traced directly to the

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doctrinal and ethical teaching of the creed itself, in a measure that it would, I think, be difficult to parallel in the case of the adherents of any other religion.

But if in this respect the case of those with whom this chapter is concerned differs from that of others, none the less may it most unhesitatingly be affirmed that Mohammedans have most definite and valuable contributions to make to the life of the Church, when they are themselves, by God's goodness and power, in the fulness of time, gathered into it. For then, by the power of the new life into which they will thus be brought, that which is good and true and permanent in their own system will be enabled to throw off the accompaniments of error and falsehood by which it is at present so fatally beset, and to assert itself in its proper strength. To hint, in some fashion, at those features of permanence and truth, as well as to indicate in passing what appear to be the special sources of weakness and corruption within the system, is the object of the present article.

I ought also to make it clear at the outset that in what I write, I do not aim at any kind of scholarly or learned treatment of the subject, for which, indeed, I am wholly unqualified. I desire merely to indicate those features of Mohammedan life and teaching which came chiefly home to me during my years of work in the Delhi Mission. This same limitation must also, of course, be borne in mind in estimating the possible value of any such general description as I may attempt, for the basis of my generalization is really an extremely small one, and it is possible that observers in other countries, or in other parts of this great continent, might be differently impressed. I shall not attempt, for instance, to discuss the problems raised by the Shiá Mohammedan beliefs, which, in many secondary ways, differ from those of the Sunnis amongst whom I worked. My argument

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will be derived from Mohammedan orthodoxy, and, as regards this, I can only repeat my own very strong belief that Islam does produce, wherever it holds sway, a singularly uniform type of individual character and of social life, and that therefore observations made regarding it in one country or district will, to a very considerable degree, hold true of the whole Mohammedan world.

There can be no hesitation in my own mind as to the article of faith in Islam, which must be given the first place in any such sketch as this. It is true indeed that the rigid Monotheism of the creed, the truth that God is ONE, has been often represented, as the very kernel of its doctrine and system, and I believe that this view would be entirely accepted, and insisted on, by Mohammedan teachers themselves. And yet, vitally important as this truth obviously is, and all-essential as a condition of any larger view, I cannot for a moment doubt myself that there is an even larger, deeper, more vital principle which lies behind it, and which is, indeed, the secret alike of the extraordinary power for conquest and advance which Islam has in its best ages evinced, and of all that still remains of true life and health in the system. Not so much that God is one, as that God IS—that His existence is the ultimate fact of the universe—that His will is supreme—His sovereignty absolute—His power limitless;—this is beyond question the truth which sank into the soul of Mohammed, as he looked out upon the futile and decadent idolatry of the Arabian Peninsula in his day, and impelled him forward in the *rôle* of the Apostle of God—this it is which has been the strength of Mohammedan rulers and armies alike, whenever they have been true to that message which first sent them forward in a wave of resistless conquest over the lands of the East.

The Name by which God revealed Himself to Moses,

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"I am that I am"[1]—this, taken primarily in its metaphysical sense as a declaration of absolute self-existence, and in grievous measure keeping out of it that declaration of necessary moral character by which, from the first, it is guarded and made fruitful in the Mosaic records,[2] is the starting-point of Mohammedan thought and activity. The conviction that, amidst all the chaos and confusion and disorders of the world which so fearfully obscure it, there is, nevertheless, an ultimate Will, resistless, supreme, and that man is called to be a minister of that Will, to promulgate it, to compel—if necessary by very simple and elementary means indeed—obedience to that Will—this it was which welded the Mohammedan hosts into so invincible an engine of conquest, which inspired them with a spirit of military subordination and discipline, as well as with a contempt of death, such as has probably never been surpassed in any system—this it is which, so far as it is still in any true sense operative amongst Mohammedans, gives at once that backbone of character, that firmness of determination and strength of will, and also that uncomplaining patience and submission in the presence of the bitterest misfortune, which characterize and adorn the best adherents of the creed.

That the Unity of God is a necessary ingredient in any such conception of His reality and power as this—made necessary by some of the most fundamental laws of human thought—is obvious, and, as I have already indicated, this truth of unity is the one which has been most clearly grasped in thought by Mohammedan theologians themselves, and most earnestly and continuously insisted on. But deeper even than the unity, goes the reality of the existence of God—of His presence and His power—and this I put unhesitatingly as the fundamental truth of Mohammedanism.

[1] Exod. iii. 14. [2] *E.g.* notably Exod. xxxiii. 19; xxxiv. 6, 7.

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It can hardly be questioned that we ourselves urgently need a clearer grasp of this truth at the present time. Thoughtful minds in the West have been occupied with the discovery of those secondary causes which are the methods of God's working in the world. Their researches have been met with such marvellous success that men have sometimes failed to retain the true sense of proportion, and in the fascinating disclosures of the methods of the operation of God's Will have been in danger of losing sight of the presence and activity of that Will itself. We therefore greatly need to be recalled to that deepest note of Mohammedan teaching, and to hear again that ultimate declaration of the existence of God, "I am that I am." This, then, is the first contribution which I believe the Mohammedan races will bring to the Christian Church as they are themselves gathered into its fold.

As closely allied to this, I think that another urgent need of our own time is met when it is shown, on a large scale of human life, that a truth about God lies at the base of one of the strongest social and political structures which the world has ever seen, and that this strength and power is due rather to a religious truth than to any maxims of practical morality. It is a prominent characteristic of contemporary thought to look askance on "dogma" and "doctrine," to regard them as incumbrances on, rather than the very root and secret of life of, the Christian system, and to desire to substitute for the dogmas of the Apostles', the Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, some "non-sectarian" teaching about God, or still more, some plain and practical code of ethics. But the whole history of the rise and growth of Mohammedanism, as well as the fact of its present power—in such degree as it still is a real power making for good in any part of the world—asserts the exact contrary to this, and declares that it is the knowledge of God which lies at the base of

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human life and gives strength to human society. "All mere maxims, all mere ideas about the nature of man, have proved weak and helpless before this proclamation of a living and eternal God. The theological transcendent principle is just the one which has stood its ground, which has reappeared age after age, which the most ignorant warriors felt was true and mighty for them, for which no cultivation has produced any substitute."[1] To have this fundamental principle reaffirmed and emphasized afresh in our midst will be an immense gain.

Furthermore, this truth of the absolute reality—the objectivity—of the existence of God seems exactly to meet our need and to recover for us sure standing-ground, when the power of subjectivity is asserting itself over us, and truth is viewed but as the outcome of the working of man's own mind, a phase of his speculation and thought. In the East this was a danger of the first magnitude, for Pantheism has always found there its most natural home, and it cannot be doubted that much of the want of firmness and stamina, in individual character and moral standards alike, which so frequently characterizes the East, is the outcome of that vagueness of thought and absence of all basis of objective truth which is of the essence of Pantheism. When Mohammedanism, with its strong grasp of the reality of the Divine existence and, as flowing from this, of the absolutely fixed and objective character of truth, came into conflict with the haziness of Pantheistic thought and the subjectivity of its belief, it necessarily followed, not only that it triumphed in the struggle, but also that it came as a veritable tonic to the life and thought of the people of Upper India, quickening into a fresh and more vigorous life many minds which never accepted for themselves its intellectual sway.

[1] "Religions of the World," F. D. Maurice, p. 25. See the whole passage.

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And to our own times and country this same conviction of the objectivity of truth comes with a no less needed and important message. What does undenominationalism, with its continually multiplying phases and its constant flux and flow, bear witness to but the loss amongst us of the firm hold of truth as one—as independent of ourselves—as the necessary correlative of the existence and presence in our midst of the one eternal God? All the vagaries of speculation and the uncertainty as to any firm basis of thought, any ultimate truth, which are so noticeable in the intellectual life of the West at the present time, bear strongest testimony to the need of a reproclamation of this fundamental truth of Mohammedanism.

Moreover,[1] not from the side of thought and doctrine only, but from what may be called the institutional side of the religion, the same power makes itself felt. No one who comes in contact for the first time with Mohammedans can fail to be struck by this aspect of their faith, and again, I think, we have ourselves much to learn from them in this respect. Wherever one may be, in open street, in railway station, in the field, it is the most ordinary thing to see a man, without the slightest touch of Pharisaism or parade, quietly and humbly leaving whatever pursuit he may be at the moment engaged in, in order to say his prayers at the appointed hour. On a larger scale, no one who has ever seen the courtyard of the Great Mosque at Delhi on the last Friday in the fast-month (Ramazán), filled to overflowing with, perhaps, 15,000 worshippers, all wholly absorbed in prayer, and manifesting the profoundest reverence and humility in

[1] I owe the following passage, dealing with the ritual aspect of the Mohammedan creed and life, to a letter which I received from the Rev. C. F. Andrews, of the Cambridge Mission, Delhi, on the subject of this paper. I have transcribed it with but slight changes.

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every gesture, can fail to be deeply impressed by the sight, or to get a glimpse of the power which underlies such a system; while the very regularity of the daily call to prayer, as it rings out at earliest dawn, before light commences, or amid all the noise and bustle of the business hours, or again as the evening closes in, is fraught with the same message. Through it all there may be seen or felt an objectivity and regularity, an outward, ordered ritual, free from effeminacy, and yet utterly different from a vast mass of modern religious sentiment, which is almost Manichæan in its fear of the body and of bodily acts, has a real dread of habits and regularity of devotion, and has almost lost the sense of the power of corporate acts of worship.

How much of the feeling of our time finds expression in a statement like the following, taken from a recent novel: "Religion depends upon the imagination and feeling. When I feel in the mood I go to church; at other times I commune with nature instead. To go to church and pretend to worship when you are not in the mood is hypocrisy." Such a position would be wholly impossible to a Mohammedan, throughout whose religious life there runs an objectivity, a wholesome use of the body in will and deed, which corresponds with the objectivity of his conception of God.

In all this there is, obviously, the danger, and often the effect, of Pharisaism; but surely our danger, at any rate at the present time, is exactly of the opposite kind, being due to a fear of the outward and visible, the corporate and institutional, and resulting, as Bishop Gore once put it, in the Pharisaism of the Publican, who "thanks God he is not as that High Churchman who says his prayers in church twice a day, and fasts once a week." In short, the whole undenominational idea, the hanging loose to the duty of the Body, which results

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in a weak and nerveless and divided Christianity, is wonderfully counteracted by this stronger side of Islam, supplying, as it does on a large scale, a living picture of what the institutional can do.

A further point arising out of their corporate worship may well appeal strongly to us, viz. their awe and prostration before God, their unmistakable sense of profound reverence in His presence. This stands in the strongest contrast to that careless and irreverent familiarity, that loss of the sense of awe, which seems so markedly to have increased in recent years. As another illustration of this same temper and habit of mind, one may notice and admire the kind of chivalrous pride which the average Mohammedan takes in his faith. A Christian will allow the Name of our Blessed Lord to be abused in his presence far more easily than a Mohammedan would allow the name of his own Prophet to be so treated; a Mohammedan treats a copy of the Quran with an instinctive reverence which may well put to shame the Christian who so lightly handles the volume of his own sacred Scriptures. In short, one may say, without fear of contradiction, that, all too frequently, there is more of the Crusader's chivalry for his faith in the Mohammedan than in the modern Christian.

In connection with all this there is, of course, as I have already recognized, in very many cases, a most sad and perfunctory formalism, together with a kind of slavish prostration and fear which is essentially unchristian; but still I hold that in such matters there is much in the modern temper of Christianity which needs a corrective, and that such a corrective is seen in the best adherents of Islam. One of the great marks of the average Englishman, with regard to outward expression in worship, is the fear of unreality, sentimentality, and effeminacy. In Islam we find one of the most ritualistic peoples in the



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world essentially manly and strong. No one can fail to be struck by this on first coming to India. Mohammedans are the strong, grave, almost fiercely manly people of Northern India—in many ways the Puritans of the land in their hatred of idolatry—and yet their whole religion is steeped in ritual.

In all these respects, then, I hold that this central truth on which I am dwelling, of God's eternal existence and living presence in our midst, is one of which, in a very special degree, we need the reaffirmation in the West.

At the same time, turning to another side of the picture, it needs to be well observed that only by being so gathered into the larger truth, as it is in Christ Jesus, can this distinguishing verity of the Mohammedan creed really be liberated from the accompaniments of error and falsehood which so fatally beset it, and prevent its bearing its full and proper fruit. For however fundamental the truths of the existence, the will, and the sovereignty of God may be, and however necessary as the substructure of all true human thought and activity, yet it is a dangerous thing to hold them apart from a clear grasp of the moral character of God and of the true human relation to Him.[1] And this is what has been so grievously lacking in the teaching of Mohammed. The absolute King, the autocratic Ruler—I think one must add, the Oriental Despot—all this indeed God is represented as being to the fullest possible extent in that system. Conversely, man, as the dust beneath His feet, as the clay in the hand of the Potter, as separated by an infinite gulf from the majesty of the Creator—this view is repeated again and again, and emphasized to the utmost degree possible. But of a true relationship and bond of union between God and man—of His moral attributes of goodness

[1] Cf. Adam Smith on Isaiah, vol. i. pp. 110, 111.

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tenderness, truth and holiness, as those which stand in the very forefront of God's disclosure of Himself to man, and of the necessary demand which these impose on man, the child of God's love as well as the creature of His Hand, that he should be holy as the Lord God is holy—of this Mohammedanism not only knows practically nothing, but most rigidly refuses to know anything, regarding as simple blasphemy any assertion of a true moral correspondence between God's nature and ours, such as is involved in our Blessed Lord's word, "Ye shall be perfect as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." And to this central defect of Mohammedan theology may be traced, I believe, almost all the injurious influence which it has exercised on the character of those who have come under its sway. The sense of a certain correspondence of our nature with God, of His life, not only as the source of ours, but as our only true goal, the pattern to which, amid whatever defect and failure, we must continually endeavour to approach—this is the supreme ennobling motive and power in man's life which makes possible an endless progress upwards. But this is just what is so wholly lacking in Mohammedanism. If the conception of the will of God as final and irreversible has produced in him a patient submission to misfortune, an uncomplaining acceptance of any bitterest experience that life can bring, such as on one side we may well admire and seek to reproduce more vitally amongst ourselves, none the less the very fact that God's will is thought of as purely arbitrary has produced that temper of fatalism which has been so grievous a drawback in all Mohammedan life. The thought of ourselves as being "fellow-workers with God," of entering in any true sense into His purposes, and of thus being gradually drawn upward into likeness with Himself, has been lacking, and that is a lack the

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full significance and effect of which it is impossible to calculate.[1]

Moreover, not in the direction of fatalism alone, but also in another direction, which is perhaps almost more injurious, this dominant conception of God as arbitrary Will has made itself fearfully felt. For, cutting as it really does at the root of all true morality, it has acted continually in the direction of destroying true moral perception in the minds of Mohammedans. All things depend on, are ordered by, the will of God. But that will being thought of as based on no eternal and immutable laws of Divine character, it follows that His decrees bear no necessary relation to His moral nature. Anything might have been ordered by Him, and if ordered would have been just as incumbent on man as that which is purest, truest, best. Can anything more fatally destroy the faculty of conscience in man, and arrest true moral progress and development, than such a position as this?

We get indeed here, I believe, at any rate a partial explanation of some of those passages in the Quran in which decrees, as blasphemous as to our sense impossible, are ascribed to God. As I have said elsewhere,[2] "Ought we not, in judging Mohammed for these, to bear in mind what his whole standpoint on such questions was? Whether or not he did really believe that these decrees came to him from God, at any rate there was nothing to prevent its having been so. I mean there was nothing

[1] See the very striking passage in Mozley's "On Miracles" (Lecture VII., pp. 140 ff. of edition of 1886; also note 1 on same Lecture, pp. 281 ff.), in which he brings out the terrible injury which has resulted to Mohammedan character from the view of the essential weakness of human nature taken by their prophet.

[2] See "Cambridge Mission Occasional Papers," No. 21, "Mohammedanism: its Strength and Weakness," from which I have quoted several times in the course of this chapter without making, in each instance, an explicit reference.

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blasphemous to Mohammed in ascribing such decrees to God in the sense in which there is to us, as being necessarily and irrevocably opposed to His nature. There is nothing of this. It was in God's will; whether He did or did not order these things, He certainly might have done so, and therefore there was no such awful conflict with, or disregard of, conscience for Mohammed in uttering such verses as we are apt to presume."

If it is true that this central defect of his creed produced in the case of Mohammed himself this deadening of moral perception, no less certainly is it true that it has in the same way dogged ever since the footsteps of his system, and in a high degree availed to prevent the true progress in morality and culture of the nations which have been longest under its sway.

In order to estimate aright this detrimental influence of the creed, it is only necessary to turn the eyes to any country in which Mohammedanism has long had dominion, *e.g.* Turkey, Persia, or Afghanistan, and see how barren they are in all that really makes for the ordered moral progress of human life—rather, how entirely opposed they are to any true progress at all. And this point becomes, I think, the more significant when we remember the conditions of exclusive privilege—rather, one may say, of sole existence—which Islam has always secured for itself in lands where it has been truly at home. By shutting itself absolutely in within a ring fence, inside of which it tolerates the intrusion of no alien teaching whatever, it has secured for itself a chance of developing most freely its own natural life, and of bringing forth with certainty any best fruit of which it may be capable, in a fashion and to a degree which would seem scarcely possible in the case of other less exclusive religions. If, therefore, under such pre-eminently favourable conditions, the system—viewed broadly and over large areas

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of human life—has so signally failed to produce true and abiding fruit, it must needs accept direct and exclusive responsibility for so grievous a failure.

Before passing on to my next point, it may be well to say a few words on a question which may suggest itself to some minds, viz. how far it can be true and fair to represent the God of Mohammedanism as so predominantly a God of sheer power and will, so comparatively devoid of distinctively moral attributes, when throughout the Quran, and elsewhere, there are at any rate some epithets (the Compassionate, the Merciful, etc.) of constant recurrence, which seem to point in an opposite direction. To this objection it is often replied that these epithets were merely borrowed from Judaism or other sources, and that, as reproduced in the Quran, they are inconsistent with the general drift of its teaching and have little real meaning.[1] This answer does not satisfy me. That these epithets, indeed almost all the ninety-nine "Beautiful Names" of God, are borrowed from earlier sources, cannot, I imagine, be questioned for an instant—for this may be said with equal truth not of these names only, but of almost every part of the teaching and narrative of the Quran. Yet there can be no question as regards very much of this material that, even if borrowed, yet it was thoroughly appropriated by Mohammed, and became the expression of genuine convictions of his own. In no other way is it possible to account for the extraordinary influence which the Book has wielded over Eastern minds and hearts through so many centuries. So, too, of these names; they seem to me to be put in the forefront of his teaching, and

[1] "I make but little of Mohammed's praises of Allah, which many praise; they are borrowed, I suppose, mainly from the Hebrew, at any rate they are far surpassed there" (Carlyle's "Hero Worship").

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continually insisted on by Mohammed in a way which is incompatible with the view that they are merely borrowed material and in his system have but little meaning.

The answer I would myself give is this.

A very large proportion of these names and epithets dwell, indeed, with power and often with great beauty on the glory, the majesty, the ineffableness of the Divine nature—viewed on the side of its metaphysical attributes, its eternity, its omnipotence, its omniscience, etc.—but do not really bring in the moral attributes at all.

This will be, I think, clearly seen if we put side by side the famous "verse of the throne," from the Quran —the recitation of which was, according to tradition, declared by Mohammed to equal in value the recitation of a third of the entire book—and the declaration of God's Name given in Exodus.

"God, there is no god but He, the living, the self-subsistent. Slumber takes Him not nor sleep. His is what is in the heavens and what is in the earth. Who is it that intercedes with Him save by His permission? He knows what is before them and what behind them, and they comprehend not aught by His knowledge but of what He pleases. His throne extends over the heavens and the earth, and tires Him not to guard them both, for He is high and grand." [1]

"The Lord, the Lord, a God full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger and plenteous in mercy and truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin: and that will by no means clear the guilty." [2]

The extreme beauty and dignity of the Quranic passage none can question, yet equally clearly we must feel the lack of that touch of love and sympathy with human life and human needs, which so marvellously

[1] Quran ii. 257, 258 (Palmer). [2] Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7.

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characterizes the Biblical passage and is the secret of its beauty and power. And this is, as I believe, the central defect of all Mohammed's teaching about the nature of God.

Further, even in the case of those names, the Merciful, the Compassionate, etc., where the moral element does undoubtedly come in, it is yet restricted to that attitude of benevolent pity and forbearance which may be shown by the infinitely high, the infinitely powerful, to the infinitely low, to the dust under the feet of the Almighty.

This attitude on God's part is indeed recognized abundantly, but this wholly fails in that sense of true sympathy with man as man, that mysterious sense of a true fellowship, a true unity, between God and man which makes it possible to present the perfection of the Divine nature as the goal of man's effort;[1] and it is this that has been the very secret of all true and steady progress upwards in the Christian life.

While therefore one cannot, for an instant, say that the God of the Quran is characterless, yet one may unhesitatingly say that the presentation of Him is lacking in that peculiar sense of sympathy and fellowship with man which is essential to true human progress.

Yet although, when hampered by those grievous defects to which attention has now been called, even so central and supreme a conviction as that of the reality and power of the one living and true God has been unable to raise man's life, none the less may we look for this same faith to exercise its full and measureless influence when it is freed from those hampering

[1] "I am the Lord your God: sanctify yourselves therefore, and be ye holy; for I am holy . . . I am the Lord that brought you up out of the land of Egypt, to be your God; ye shall therefore be holy, for I am holy" (Lev. xi. 44, 45).

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errors and put in its place in the truth as it is in Christ Jesus.

Another gain which we may feel quite sure the Mohammedan mind will bring to us when brought to its true allegiance, and again one which surely at the present time has a special appropriateness and significance for ourselves, is the whole-hearted belief in the fact of Revelation.

This gives the most marked advance on mere Deism. Mohammedans hold in the strongest way possible the fact of Revelation, and furthermore put the very highest possible value on the revealed Word. The accuracy with which the text of the Quran has been preserved is, as is well known, unique, and shows the intense and jealous care that has always been exercised in its guardianship. To this day it is a very common thing for the whole book to be learnt off by heart in Arabic by boys of twelve and thirteen years old, who do not understand a word of its meaning. Imagine an English boy being asked to learn by heart—merely by sound and without any understanding—the Old Testament in Hebrew! I am not, of course, concerned now with the fearfully mechanical and intellectually injurious character of this exercise—its inevitable effect in stunting the higher powers of the mind and subordinating everything else to a gigantic effort of the memory. This we can all understand. But at least the tribute to the dignity of God's Word stands out clear, and might well shame many of us; and I cannot but sympathize very much with Mohammedans in what is perhaps their chief disqualification in the present race for learning—as leading to Government employment and promotion in life in India. They, at least the best among them, will not send their children to any school of general education till they have spent some years in the study of their own faith, and in

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mastering, in the way I have described, at any rate parts of the Quran. The Hindus, hampered by no such scruples, send their children far earlier to school, and thus get a start which, in the majority of cases, can never be overtaken by the later comer. Surely they deserve all praise for this deliberate postponement of worldly interests to the demands of the study of God's Word.

In all this there is doubtless much of mere letter-worship, injurious therefore in various ways in its present form, but yet surely re-echoing in intent the assertion of our Lord, "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every Word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." This clear recognition of Revelation is a great point, and one which carries with it much more than the Mohammedan recognizes, leading necessarily on to a conception of the true relation of God to man, very different from that to which their creed as a whole commits them.

The brotherhood of believers is another vital and much-needed truth which, it may well be, Mohammedan converts will help to reaffirm and press home on the Christian consciousness.

I am not, indeed, prepared to lay much stress upon this point, for I feel quite sure that neither in dogmatic teaching have they any basis for this truth remotely comparable in depth and efficacy to that membership in the one Body of Christ on which for ourselves this great fact of brotherhood is grounded, nor in practice do they realize it to at all the same degree as is attained by those who, in humble faith and real love, kneel side by side before the altar to receive, as one Body, the one Bread.

Yet it is a truth on which no little stress is laid in the teaching of Mohammed, and which had great significance and influence, at any rate in the early days of Islam; and as it is a truth so vital to ourselves, and

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yet on which the hold of so very many of those who "profess and call themselves Christians" is so woefully weak, we may well hope that in this direction also some gain may accrue.

"Take tight hold of God's rope altogether, and do not part in sects; but remember the favour of God towards you, when ye were enemies and He made friendship between your hearts, and on the morrow ye were, by His favour, brothers."

"The believers are but brothers, so make peace between your two brethren and fear God, haply ye may obtain mercy;"[1] so runs the injunction of the Quran in what are, so far as I know, the two clearest and most emphatic utterances on the subject.

And to a considerable degree the injunction has been obeyed in practice. In the earliest days the importance of this assertion of brotherhood based on a common faith must have been very great, as well as the strain which it imposed on discipline, clashing as it did with that principle of blood-relationship, that strong clannish feeling, which was dominant in Arabia in Mohammed's time, and was the very base of all its social polity.

Yet not a few traditions bear forcible, if not always very attractive, testimony to the loyalty and thoroughness with which the new principle was embraced.

And there can be no doubt whatever that the institution of the Hajj—the pilgrimage to the holy places—which is incumbent, once in a lifetime, on all true believers who are not debarred from the privilege by entire insufficiency of worldly means—has done a great deal to maintain and deepen this sense of brotherhood in a common faith. The influence here has been just as it was in the early days of the Crusades, when the one religious motive which was prominent in all thoughts and

[1] Quran iii. 97, 98, and xlix. 10 (Palmer).

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uppermost in all hearts for a short time at least, effaced the usual earthly distinctions of social rank and worldly position, and united all into one body. On the other hand, so far as my own experience in India goes, I do not think that this principle of common brotherhood has maintained itself much more practically and effectively amongst Mohammedans than it has amongst Christians, or has been strong enough to resist the singularly disintegrating influences of Hindu society and thought.

It would therefore not be right to lay much stress upon this as a direction in which, when brought to the knowledge of our Lord, the Mohammedan will contribute very effectively to the life of the whole Church.

Other points there are, the stern denunciation of gambling in all its many forms, the resistance—so practically effective on the whole, though of course with very many instances of individual failure—to the use of strong drinks or drugs and the like, to which reference might perhaps be made. But on the one hand, these features of Mohammedanism, of great practical value though they undoubtedly are, do not appear to me to rise quite to the level of principle and of ultimate truth which is needed by the aim of this chapter; and on the other hand, there are, I think, too clear elements of actual doctrinal error in the sweeping negations by which these practical reforms have been secured, to make it desirable to include them in our list.

Without them, however, one may surely still feel that of the Mohammedan mind and character, no less than of those of other races, it is true that they have very real and valuable contributions to make to the fulness of the life of the Christian Church.

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## CHAPTER II

### Suggestions for Work among Moslems

**Urgent need of specially trained workers amongst Mohammedans—Feasibility of such training from literary point of view—Result in increased sympathy and comprehension.**

But the Mohammedan world—broadly speaking, and not forgetting the considerable firstfruits which have already been gathered in[1]—has still to be won to the Faith of Christ, and in order to hasten this great consummation, I want to lay stress on the urgent need of a much more careful and systematic intellectual preparation, on the part of those whose lives are to be given to work amongst Mohammedans, than has hitherto been the rule.[2]

This, I would say, in the first place, is incumbent upon us, just because it is so essentially practical and possible. Of the study of Hinduism I myself know nothing, and of course I may in my ignorance be exaggerating the difficulties which it really presents to a wise and methodical student. But I confess that, viewing it thus from outside, I always feel appalled at its vastness—shall I say

[1] Out of 115 clergy in the Lahore diocese, 18 are of Indian birth, and of these latter 11 are of Mohammedan extraction. As the standard of ordination has always been kept high in the diocese, the latter fact is significant, and shows that the firstfruits already gathered in are much more considerable in quantity, as well as in quality, than is usually recognized.

[2] The substance of the following passage is taken, with but little change, from a paper on the "Preparation of Workers for Work amongst Mohammedans," which I recently contributed to the Conference for Mohammedan Workers held at Cairo in April, 1906

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its vagueness?—and at the supreme difficulty of really coming to grips with it. But I do not think that this objection can be urged with any truth whatever with regard to the study of Mohammedanism.

First of all, of course, there is the study of the Quran itself—I mean the simple mastery of the Arabic. It must be assumed that this is not beyond the intellectual ability of those who intend to devote themselves to this work, but in and by itself the power which it gives us in dealing with Mohammedans is extraordinary. I speak with reticence on the point, lest it should be thought that I know Arabic myself. I know practically nothing of it, having forgotten the little I once knew. But during the short time at Delhi in which I was giving myself to the careful literary study of Arabic, hoping to become really acquainted with it—before the call came to me to enter on other and all-engrossing pursuits—I used to be astonished at the increasing power which one seemed to get with every fresh Sura—it is scarcely too much to say every fresh verse—that one read. Some opportunity of using it seemed invariably to come almost at once, and the fact that one was able thus to refer to it instantly strengthened the hold that one was able to get on one's listeners. This study, of course, comes first of all.

But then, in the second line, the really authoritative books are comparatively so few, so universally recognized, and so manageable, for any real student.

If, as Commentaries, one had got some real hold of two—Beidhawi and Jalalain; if in addition to them one was fairly well acquainted, on the side of traditional lore, with just two principal collections—Bokhari and Moslim—I cannot help thinking that one would occupy a position of very great strength indeed, and be able, at any rate, to secure for the truth which we bring a measure of respectful consideration which would be of supreme value.

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I cannot elaborate the point, but it is this conviction which I entertain of the entire practicability of some real acquaintance with Mohammedan literature and theology, that has in my mind accentuated the importance of securing it, and has also made me so deeply deplore the widespread absence of it among so very many of those who have hitherto given themselves to this work. Not infrequently during my years in Delhi, when I wanted to refer to some tradition which I knew existed in one of the well-known collections, but the exact source of which I did not know, it was a cause of real pain to me—and, as I thought, a reproach to the missionary cause—that there was scarcely a single missionary, so far as I knew, in Upper India, to whom I could turn for the needed reference—not more than two or three indeed in the whole of India, and to them I sometimes turned in vain. Surely this reproach ought to be wiped away.

Secondly, there is the fact that some scholarly study of this kind is essential as the intellectual counterpart of that general moral attitude of sympathy and fairness, which, it is becoming year by year increasingly recognized, is a necessary condition of any really effective work for the souls of others. In order to be able to lead effectively, by the power of the Holy Spirit, to the full truth as it is in Christ Jesus those to whom we are sent, it is of immense importance that we should understand clearly the point which, in the providence of God, they have already reached, the elements of truth which they already hold, and the general texture and colour of their thought. It is, for the most part, only by having done this in some true measure that we shall be able to present to them the sacred message with which we ourselves are charged, in a "tongue understanded of the people."

I cannot say how lamentably great has been, in my

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opinion, the failure in the past to do this—to put ourselves, I mean, first by some degree of brotherly sympathy, love and insight, on to the platform which they occupy, in order thus to lead them on with us up to the apprehension of the truth in Christ Jesus.

Most of the older controversial literature, on the Christian side, is, I think—with all that it contains of valuable and true material—very hard in its tone, as though intended rather to confute the enemy than to win the disguised friend. Similarly, much of our preaching seems to me rather as though we were hoping to convert men by throwing brickbats at them, in the form of truth. You may knock a man down by this process—you often do—but I much doubt whether the resulting frame of mind is very favourable to conversion. I certainly do not think it would be in my own case.

I, however, most thankfully recognize that a new spirit—and, in this respect, at any rate, a more Christlike one—is making itself felt in our literature, and, as I fully believe, in much of our preaching as well. In the department of literature I would call special attention to the two most valuable little books, as I esteem them, "Sweet First-Fruits" and "The Beacon of Truth." Alike in spirit and in method, they seem to me to be quite admirable. I know of no books that I believe may be more wisely, and with greater hope of allaying prejudice and winning a favourable consideration for the truth, given to Mohammedan inquirers than these.

In this connection I should like also to refer to Archbishop Trench's invaluable course of Hulsean Lectures for 1846, on "Christ the Desire of all Nations." Would that every Christian apologist working amongst non-Christian people were steeped alike in the spirit and in the method of those lectures! I can scarcely imagine any more valuable preparation for the work we have in view.

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For more adequate preparation, therefore, on the intellectual and scholarly as well as on the moral and spiritual side, on the part of those whose high privilege it is to carry the gospel of our Risen Lord and Saviour to the Mohammedan world, I most earnestly plead.



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## VI

# "THE HIDDEN RICHES OF SECRET PLACES": THE POSSIBLE SERVICE OF HINDUISM TO THE COLLECTIVE THOUGHT OF THE CHURCH

By Bishop Mylne

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# "THE HIDDEN RICHES OF SECRET PLACES": THE POSSIBLE SERVICE OF HINDUISM TO THE COLLECTIVE THOUGHT OF THE CHURCH

THE RIGHT REV. L. G. MYLNE, D.D.

FORMERLY BISHOP OF BOMBAY

## CHAPTER I

### GENERAL CONTRAST BETWEEN CHRISTIANITY AND HINDUISM AS SYSTEMS

Definition of terms—Christianity, the faith of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation—Hinduism, in its essence, a consistent Pantheism.

The subject abstract, not therefore useless.

The essentials of religion as such, being, (1) On the moral side, a provision for relations between man and the Higher Powers, be they personal or impersonal; (2) On the intellectual side, an answer to the great problems of the universe, as a basis for these relations; (3) A due order of subordination between the first of these as supreme, and the second as subsidiary; the contrast between Christianity and Hinduism lies not less in their respective treatment of the third than of the other two—Christianity, by maintaining both the transcendence and the immanence of God, partially sacrifices intellectual, for the sake of moral completeness; while Hinduism, by denying His transcendence, and maintaining only His immanence, totally abandons moral, in favour of intellectual, completeness.

I AM to try to draw out in this article the service to be rendered to the Church, to Christian thought as a whole, by the followers of the Hindu religion, could they once be

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converted to Christ. To effect this with any completeness I must compare, or rather must contrast, the two Religious Systems from several points of view—in the provision which they respectively make for the spiritual needs of men, and in the answers they respectively propound to those ultimate problems of thought which exercise the human understanding; which have, indeed, exercised it at all times since it first became conscious of itself.

Let me first make it perfectly plain, then, what are the two Systems to be compared.

By Christianity I mean the Faith of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation, not the mere Theism which constantly tries to pass under that title.

The Hinduism of which I shall treat is not that degraded idolatry which prevails in the India of to-day. Its thirty-three millions of divinities are but concrete embodiments and expressions of the single pervading belief that God is all that exists, and that everything that exists is divine. For Hinduism, in its every stage, is at the bottom really Pantheistic. I shall have to draw out this idea at much greater length hereafter. Just let me say briefly here that, alike in its earliest stage when it was, nominally at least, Theistic—the stage of the Vedic hymns; in its second, or middle stage, when it was purely and professedly Pantheistic—the stage of the Vedantic books; and in its third, or final stage, where it is nakedly and unblushingly Polytheistic—the stage of the Puranic literature—in each of these stages, I say, the core of the religion was the same—God is everything, and everything is God.

The Pantheism led straight to the Polytheism, by a process absolutely inevitable, the Hindu being what he is. But in itself it is infinitely purer. And it is from this Vedantic Hinduism, from the wonderful logical completeness with which it accepted the conclusions which

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follow from its single premise, that I believe we have so much to learn. From the Polytheism, as a religion, Christianity has nothing to gain. From its practical issues in life we can learn only what to avoid. There is much in the life of Hindus which is beautiful, much which is lovable. But these are in spite of their religion, just because they are better than their creed. And they are accompanied, alas! and besmirched—inextricably accompanied and most foully besmirched—with the inevitable practical results of the worship of abominable divinities.

But from the Pantheism of Vedantic Hinduism, we Christians, in England at least, have much—very much—to learn. It is on the speculative side of religion, in its answers to abstract problems, that this lesson must be sought and must be learnt. Hence a word of necessary deprecation must come in at this point of my approach to it.

I hold that the Hindu mind, of whose essential, native thought pure Pantheism is the perfect expression, has a service to offer to Christianity which no other race in the world could render with like completeness; while of all the many races which boast themselves adherents of Christianity, none perhaps needs more than ourselves the very aid which Hinduism might offer.

Yet just for this very reason—just because we so greatly require the additions to Christian thought which Pantheism is able to offer—the duty of setting this forth, to commend itself to the English mind, is perhaps as difficult a task as a writer could possibly undertake. The whole bent of the English mind trends away from the abstract, as such; while much to be dealt with in the sequel lies, I fear, in the realm of abstractions. The religious mind of our Church joys only in the practical and the concrete; the doctrinal, as such, is despised, is

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regarded with suspicion and dislike by those for whom I must write; while to discharge, to approach, my task without plunging into doctrinal disquisitions is, alas! an impossibility.

I must begin, then, by appealing to the reader to try to allow a fair hearing to that which I have to advance; not simply to condemn it beforehand as necessarily unpractical and useless, because dealing with the doctrinal and the abstract. The world, as Dr. Newman said, is ruled in the long run by logic—which means that abstractions despised have a way of avenging themselves sevenfold; that to neglect them is to risk being enslaved to them; that premises lightly adopted without due regard to their consequences lead on to unexpected conclusions, perhaps to unwelcome results, which prove to be eminently practical.

It is for want of examining their premises that thousands of truth-loving Englishmen, who start with a religious mind, keep drifting inevitably towards Materialism; they begin by the acceptance of premises which tend unavoidably thither; they end by adopting the conclusions, because in spite of themselves they are logical—the more hopelessly enslaved to abstractions for having started with a total contempt for them.

It is against this trend towards Materialism that I believe that Hindu thought can so assist the English mind. It is with a view to such assistance that the following thoughts have been worked out. Such assistance I believe that they can render, if only, in spite of being abstract, they are studied for what they may be worth.

Wherein lies, then, that inestimable service which I hold may be rendered to Christianity by minds which have been trained in sheer Pantheism?

Every system of religion, as such, be it Hindu, be it

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Buddhist, be it Mohammedan, be it Christian, must present itself to the thought of mankind, and must prefer its claim on their allegiance, under two great leading aspects. It must offer, first, and above all things, a provision for their spiritual needs—must lay before them a set of relations, in the spiritual order of things, which it claims to be able to establish between them and the Power or Powers by which they and the world are ruled. It must offer an approach to those powers; a rule of life in accordance with their behests, if they are looked upon as living and personal; a way of falling in with their tendencies, of making the most of their possibilities, if they be thought of as fatal and material.

But along with, though subordinate to this, it must provide some account of the universe, of the relations of all things to each other; of man to the totality of things; of God, if it believe in a God, towards man and the universe as a whole. It must face those ultimate problems which have exercised the human understanding in every age of the world. It must reason in some sort, at any rate, "of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate; fixed fate, freewill, foreknowledge absolute." It must deal with the One and the many, and with the necessary relations between them. In a word, although it be not a philosophy, it must have some philosophy behind it; must be able to vindicate, and to maintain itself in the face of ontological questions. If it do not face them directly, its tenets must at any rate anticipate them. Or perhaps I ought rather to say that it is bound, if it is to hold our allegiance, to anticipate rather than to state them. It dare not commit itself directly, with its wealth of spiritual treasure, to answer, at peril of its life, for a system of philosophy, as such. But it is bound to be prepared with an answer when a hostile philosophy confronts it, and contradicts the assumptions on which

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it rests. We must claim of it, when it meets such a challenge, that it can show to our entire satisfaction that it has, in its own proper way, protected itself and its followers from the charge of being pledged in theology to positions untenable in philosophy.

But if it be essential to religion that it satisfy us under both these aspects, as providing for our spiritual needs, and as answering our ultimate questions, it is not a whit less needful that it range them in their own due order in respect of their relative importance. If we dare not commit ourselves in religion to aught that is false in philosophy, if we needs must demand of religion that it never shall find itself stultified in face of the needs of our understanding, none the less must we guard ourselves strictly against sacrificing aught of its completeness, as providing for our spiritual needs, for the sake of exhaustive satisfaction to our purely logical thinking.

For here it is that Christianity and Hinduism show the first of the many contrasts which set them off, the one against the other, in total and diametrical opposition.

Christianity, true to its character as providing before aught else for the spiritual needs of its followers, is content to accept as unavoidable some gaps, some insoluble antinomies, in its answer to the problems of metaphysics. While Hinduism, which started with like pretensions, at a well-marked stage in its development abandoned the attempt to fulfil them, sold its birthright as a spiritual system for the sake of intellectual completeness on the side of ontological speculation. Indeed, each indictment of Hinduism which the following pages will contain, will be found in the ultimate analysis, to reduce itself simply to this—that for the sake of logical completeness, as a consistent system of Pantheism, it has sacrificed the spiritual needs of the nation given over to its guidance: while each claim to satisfy man's needs

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which the Gospel of Christ has to offer is secured by the readiness of Christianity to acquiesce in a mystical accommodation, where perfect logical completeness is incompatible with moral satisfaction. Where Pantheism stands rounded and complete, no question left unanswered, no problem acknowledged insoluble, Christianity frankly admits that a God completely understood were to her no God at all—dethroned from His transcendent perfection by being shown to be completely apprehensible by the mind of a finite creature—that a Universe wholly accounted for, explained in its every mystery, were not that sacramental world in which she lives and moves—aye, and gropes—by faith, not sight.

The logical completeness of Pantheism has landed its Hindu votaries, bemused in their spiritual senses, confounded in their moral aspirations, among gods who are monsters of wickedness, in a world where morality is not. Christianity leads us by the hand along paths of purity and holiness; our highest aspirations satisfied, our deepest needs supplied by a relation, only half understood, between ourselves and uncreated Holiness.

There is, it must of course be admitted, a point in pure speculative thought, up to which philosophy and religion are dealing with similar considerations, are occupied with just the same problems. Yet one grand, radical difference must inevitably sever them from each other in their treatment of speculative problems—the difference of their actuating motives.

If religion, then, is to offer us a basis upon which our relations with God can be surely and satisfactorily founded, it must be able, in the ultimate resort, to explain the relations themselves, and the fact that such relations are possible. And it must not propound an explanation which cannot account for itself intelligibly at the tribunal of the human understanding. But it will deal with

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purely speculative questions in such a way, and up to just such a point, as is needed for its own proper end, for justifying the spiritual guidance which it holds to be the one thing needful.

The attitude of philosophy towards them is totally different from this. It acknowledges no other motive, it aims at no other conclusion than purely speculative satisfaction.

Metaphysics, taken strictly as such, can ignore a whole world of considerations which concern religion directly. Let it approve itself on the logical side, as an account of all things that are, in all their manifold relations, and it need not concern itself with questions which affect the spiritual and the moral.

It is the duty of the Christian apologist to maintain with unflinching boldness that the call of man's spiritual being for an answer to the moral enigmas which beset him on his path through life, is as real, and as emergently imperious as those of his intellectual being—that nothing can claim to be complete as a system for the guidance of humanity, which leaves this demand unsatisfied, and that nothing can be called satisfaction which leaves our sense of accountability to be explained as a convenient abstraction; as reducible, in the ultimate analysis, to aught but a personal relation to a Personal Ruler of the universe.

And this essential difference of motive between faith and philosophy, as such, must lead to a corresponding divergence in their treatment of ultimate problems, even viewed on their speculative side. A perfect intellectual completeness, at least of a certain kind, is possible in the region of metaphysic, just because of its moral indifference, which is totally precluded to religion, whose end is moral and spiritual. To a system whose ultimate motive is conduct towards our fellows and right relations with God, it is, or at least ought

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to be, impossible to accept a philosophical position which ignores, or which precludes the satisfaction of the moral and spiritual needs which that motive presupposes and cares for. It can accept no account of the universe which eliminates altogether from its purview the needs of men's spiritual nature, and which claims to be complete in itself if it satisfy the demands of mere logic. Nor, again, can it possibly admit that even these have been fully complied with by a theory of ultimate relations which denies or leaves out of account demands which it maintains to be as real as the claims of logic itself. It would assert itself to be actually completer in its appeal to reasonable beings, if it secured the full satisfaction of instincts which are primary and inevitable, a portion of the heritage of humanity, than if, leaving these last unsupplied, it were to offer a full satisfaction to the claims of but one of their faculties, to the demands of pure, isolated reason.

Truth to say, there are only two systems which, each in its own hard way, as a reasoned, ordered Monism, attain, so their followers claim, to absolute logical completeness; which account, or which claim to account for all things in all possible relations, leaving nothing unexplained. These two are Materialism and Pantheism.

With each of these religion must reckon; their claims to be guides of mankind must be met in some form or other by a system which offers to the world any tutelage in spiritual matters. For each of them professes in its way to "bestride the narrow world like a Colossus," to leave us no road by which to go, save as we "crawl under" its "huge legs."

This claim we must no more admit on the logical side than on the moral. We must maintain that the logical consistency which is claimed for Pantheism or Materialism in their answers to the riddle of the universe,

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are secured by an intellectual suicide as complete in the realm of the understanding as that suicide in the region of morals to which they respectively lead—that they eliminate altogether from their field one factor of the ultimate antinomy which each professes to resolve. We must claim for our mystical solution a satisfactoriness more exhaustive and more real upon even the intellectual side than anything which they have to offer through what they vaunt as their logical completeness.

But to argue such questions at length is impossible in an article like this. The real business to be dealt with at present is to display the relations with Pantheism of Christianity and Hinduism respectively; to show how the Hindu religion, by surrendering itself wholly to Pantheism, has arrived at a logical completeness in its reading of the riddle of the universe, which renders it an invaluable ally to the Christian approach to that problem; while, on the other hand, by that very surrender, it has involved itself in a spiritual chaos, which makes it a marvellous back-ground for rendering the loveliness of the Gospel more conspicuous and more satisfying than ever.

Here I could not do better, I think, than begin by displaying to the reader two utterances which embody respectively the spirit of the Systems to be contrasted.

The soul of John Henry Newman used to rest, he tells us, in his childhood, in the thought of "two only supreme and luminously self-evident beings," himself "and his Creator."

Side by side with this precious experience, and as its completest possible contrast, I have stored for long in my mind a saying of a Hindu pantheist—repeated to me by Bishop Caldwell in words which I cannot reproduce, but practically amounting to this—that language was inadequate to embody for him the rapture of one moment

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in his life, when he was finally told by his *Guru*,[1] after years of preliminary training, that there subsisted no veritable distinction between himself, the human thinker, and the Deity about whom he thought; that in brooding over the thought of the Divine, he had reached the point of indifference where all distinctions scale off, where there only remains for the thinker the absolute indeterminate One and All, the very Brahm who is everything and nothing.

The difference of the two points of view is that between Christianity and Pantheism. The Christian conceives of his God as a Being, eternally subsisting in glory transcendent and unapproachable; Who abides, it is true, in His creatures, both in providence as Creator and Sustainer, and in grace as Transformer and Sanctifier. Yet while he regards the Creation as made for the glory of God, he is constrained by his conception of the Godhead to believe that that glory was complete before anything existed save God; nay, that, at any rate from one point of view, it would have been equally complete had nothing else sprung into being. He thinks of the universe created—himself and his fellow-men with the rest—as subsisting in God the Creator, and incapable of existing apart from Him. Yet he holds that it were blasphemy against God, and falsehood to the truth of things created, to say that, while existing in Him, it is substantially indistinguishable from Him.

I shall proceed, in the course of this article, to show how this belief in His transcendence not only allows for, but necessitates a corresponding belief in His immanence —that Christianity does not run mad by insistence on a single truth, His transcendence of the finite, the created, as Hinduism does run mad by insistence on the corresponding truth of His immanence in all that He has

[1] *Guru* is the Hindu title for a spiritual guide.

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made. But in the mean time, and for present purposes, it is transcendence upon which I must insist as the distinguishing tenet of Christianity in contradistinction to Hinduism. In a word, while to Christian theology the immanence of God in Creation, above all in the rational Creation, is held as a necessity of thought, that immanence is not so held as that transcendence thereby be excluded.

But to the Hindu the conception of transcendence is excluded once and for all by a conception of the immanence of the Deity so completely and so logically carried out that no room is left for His transcendence. Its God is so immanent in the universe that He cannot be thought of as existing, save in so far as He realizes Himself in it: while its conception of all things that are in the universe of finite existence, is that they only exist, or seem to do so, in so far as they partake of the one Essence which alone can be held self-existent—the Divine, the Unconditioned, the Infinite, the Undivided, the Absolute Brahm.

Christianity, as I shall point out hereafter, is far from closing its eyes to the challenge which Pantheism offers. However unintelligently and blindly some very large sections of Christians may ignore, or may wilfully neglect it, the doctrine of God in the New Testament—the truths of the Blessed Trinity and of the Incarnation—do meet and acknowledge that challenge. Christianity being true to her character as before all things a spiritual system, a scheme for perfect relations between God and His creature, man, takes its stand upon a mystical recognition of the admittedly insoluble problem of the relation of Infinite and finite; and refuses, when considering that problem, to commit herself to a logical solution which shall be fatal to her spiritual aspirations.

She thereby escapes, as I believe, an act of intellectual

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suicide as fatal in the realm of pure thought as that act of spiritual suicide is fatal in the spiritual region, by which Hinduism merges the finite in the solitary Being of the Infinite. But this is, for the present, incidental. The point in her relations with Pantheism which alone I will emphasize now, is that, maintaining as equally real the existence of Infinite and finite, she refuses to commit herself for a moment to a dialectical solution of the difficulty which would cost her her spiritual character, but falls back upon a mystical solution in the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation.

The exposition of this aspect of Christianity forms so large and so all-important a portion of all that I must set before the reader, that I reserve it to be treated of later. It is as helping to emphasize this position—this Christian belief in God's immanence, this Christian Pantheism, as it has been called—that I believe that the votaries of Hinduism might render such admirable service, could they be brought within the pale of the Gospel.



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## CHAPTER II

### A more Detailed Account of Hinduism

The relation between Hinduism as a religion, and Pantheism as a philosophy—

(1) Historically, Hinduism has passed through three stages: the first, Theistic, the stage of the Vedic hymns; the second, Pantheistic, the stage of the Vedantic literature; the third, Polytheistic, the stage of the Puranic legends.

(2) Essentially, it was Pantheistic even in the first stage, while the third is but a popularized Pantheism; the many gods only embodying for the vulgar the belief that all things that exist are divine.

(3) Philosophically, the cause of this downward progress was a refusal to sacrifice anything of intellectual completeness in the conception of God as Infinite, for the sake of securing moral completeness by recognizing the reality of the finite.

(4) Thoroughness of this refusal: belief in the Infinity of God carried out to the point of eliminating all other reality.

(5) The moral cost of this consistency is (*a*) On the Divine side, the identification of pure being with pure nothingness; (*b*) On the human side, the denial of free will and even of personal identity.

(6) Moral effect of this obliteration of distinctions: wicked gods believed in, and set forth in Hindu literature and art.

(7) Intellectual fascination exercised by the completeness and consistency of Pantheism, in spite of its moral issues.

Accordingly I shall proceed, as the next step, to show what, as matter of history, is the relation of the Hindu religion towards Pantheism as a system of philosophy.

Time was when Hindu thought was Theistic, and not Pantheistic; when, half-heartedly, it must be admitted, it set God before men to be worshipped, as distinct from that totality of the universe, which alone it recognized as Divine in its later, Pantheistic stage.

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In the earliest stage of its development, as we know it from the Vedic hymns, it acknowledged a personal Divinity, distinguishable in the thought of the worshipper from the things which He created and bestowed. The distinction, at even this stage, was less sharply defined than it should have been. In the religion of the Vedic hymns a Creator, it is true, is adored, but He has already begun to be adored under the form of the things which He creates. Instead of the Creator being worshipped as God, the bestower of all things, His material gifts were adored as embodiments of Him who bestows them. Yet, half-hearted as was Theism such as this, it had not wholly surrendered its character, had not reached the uncompromising Monism in which, under a full-blown Pantheism, the distinction between Creator and created is wholly obliterated and lost. The hard, intellectual concept of an absolute, unrelated One had not wholly obliterated the distinction between the Infinite, Uncreated Being and a universe which is not Himself. He still was allowed to transcend it, though held to be immanent in it. There was still in the mind of the worshipper, if he reasoned on the subject at all, a mystical accommodation of his thought to the distinction, impossible to logic, between Infinite Being on the one hand, and the reality of the finite upon the other.

But when confronted with a Monistic philosophy, the religion of the Vedas broke down, most completely and disastrously broke down, as a provision for the needs of man's soul. It surrendered the primary distinction, and the absolutely necessary subordination between the two essentials of a faith which I have tried to indicate above: it subordinated the moral necessities, which are man's first spiritual need, to a craving for logical completeness in its abstract conception of things.

I said but now that, under the system of the Vedas,

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the worship of an Infinite Creator, distinguishable from the universe which He had made, necessitated on the part of the worshipper a mystical accommodation of his thought to a distinction impossible to logic. To draw this out a little more fully—to predicate of God that He is Infinite would seem, from the logical point of view, to render it totally impossible that anything can exist except Himself. For if it is not included in Himself, then the Infinity that was predicated of Him is nullified, invalidated, contradicted by the fact that He does not include it; while if it is included in Himself, then its existence as other than Himself is equally nullified in its turn.

From the dilemma thus created there is no purely logical issue. If the existence of both Infinite and finite as in any way separable from one another is to be maintained as the necessary foundation for relations between Creator and creature, some mystical accommodation of our thought must take the place of a dialectical solution for freeing us from this *impasse*.

This was just what Hindu thinkers declined. God, after being worshipped as Giver, and then worshipped under the figure of His gifts, ceased gradually to be distinguished from His gifts, and the gifts to be distinguished from Him. He was identified with the things which He had given, and they were identified with Him, until the half-hearted Theism of the Vedas gave place to that thorough-going Pantheism which formed the second or Vedantic stage in the development of the Hindu system.

The spiritual needs of the worshipper cried aloud, one would think, then as now, for a Being to whom to be responsible, for a Creator to know and to adore. But the intellectual system of Pantheism, if consistently and thoroughly carried out, gives a logical completeness to thought which is lacking to a spiritual system acknowledging both Infinite and finite as subsisting independently

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of one another, or as distinguishable in thought from one another. And Hinduism surrendered itself completely to the demands of its Monistic ontology, and passed into the Pantheism of the Vedantas, in which God is identified with the universe, and the universe is identified with Him. Instead of holding to a mystical position, which refuses to apply human logic to the definition and explanation of the Divine, it succumbed to that craving for unity which exists in the Indian mind as it does nowhere else in the world. It eliminated the conception of Personality from its ideas concerning the Creator. In this, of course, it was perfectly logical. The thought of an Infinite Creator with a universe distinct from Himself, not absolutely identical with Himself, is, on the side of pure logic, inconceivable. And in deference to this demand of the reason for a system complete in its logic, admitting no apparent contradiction, requiring no mystical faith which cannot be explained to the understanding, the belief in the existence of a Creator, distinguishable from that which He creates, was abandoned under the creed of the Vedantas. With this there had to go by the board all thoughts of a Ruler of the universe, to whom creatures can render obedience, and to whom they must answer for their lives. But this act of moral suicide was accepted on the part of religion, to satisfy the demands of metaphysics, and Hinduism contents itself with a God who is regarded as immanent in the universe, and as in no sense transcending it.[1]

A Hindu thinker, then, if true to his Pantheistic

[1] The religion which aims at completeness in exactly the opposite direction is Buddhism. Being essentially a reaction from Hinduism, it eliminated from its system of metaphysics the thought of any spiritual existence distinguishable from the universe of matter. It forms the religious counterpart of the modern Materialism of Europe, as Hinduism is the religious counterpart of the modern Pantheism of Europe.

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creed, cannot rest, as Newman did, in the thought of two existences, still less two self-existent beings, distinguishable in any real sense.

If it can be said that any being at all survives the irresistible solvent which a thorough-going Pantheism applies, it is the one undiscriminated Absolute, the pure being, which is also pure nothingness.[1]

To point to any other existence as actual, nay, as possible, side by side with it, were blasphemy against its one, lone attribute, that of being the all in all, the self-existent, all-existent Brahm.

Nay, to predicate anything of it, in such sense that the polar opposite should by that predication be excluded, were to stultify and contradict the predication; since the subject of which it is predicated is that in which opposites are included, in which all contradictories are merged, in which every antinomy is reconciled, in which each member of a total opposition is alike a moment in the Oneness, or a dream in the eternal contemplation of the One—that One which is self, which is God, which is thought, which is fact, which is nature, which is all.

This position a Hindu follows out with an absolute, uncompromising consistency, which to a Western is hardly comprehensible. He takes it up in its every bearing, he applies it in every direction, be its consequences what they may in philosophy, in religion, in society, in morality.

Does its application in the field of philosophy mean that the thinker, who is speculating upon it, has himself no personal existence distinct from the object of his thought—nay, that neither thinker nor object have any

[1] For the best account I know of the identity of pure being with pure nothing from the standpoint of Pantheistic thought, I would refer the reader to the Bampton Lectures for 1899, by Professor Inge, p. 110, etc.

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existence at all, save so far as the Infinite Object finds a mode of realization in the thought of the finite thinker, or so far as the thinker himself has emerged, a temporary manifestation in the eternal existence of the Object—this denial of thinker and of thought is accepted without hesitation.

Does it demand in the sphere of religion that the God in whom we believe exists only so far as He is believed in; that the believer believing in a God, is himself nothing else but a name for that God as contemplating Himself—then all distinction whatsoever between the worshipper and Him who is worshipped must be totally and ruthlessly eliminated, at the cost, admitted and accepted, of obliterating responsibility and free-will.

Does it mean in the realm of morality that every act of every being which exists, or seems to exist, is equally moral or immoral, indifferently right or wrong; that there is no immorality or morality, because everything that is done or omitted is alike the inevitable outcome of a Divine self-realization—then morality must go to the winds: there is no self to be moral or immoral, no neighbour to be sinned against or helped; no God to command or to forbid; there is nought, can be nought, but the One, the Eternal, the Inevitable; which is neither conscious nor unconscious; which is neither holy nor unholy; which is neither moral nor immoral; which is simply non-moral, because it cannot be other than it is.

The attitude, then, of Hinduism as a religion towards Pantheism as a system of philosophy, is one of absolute surrender in the region of speculative thought. And this surrender, alas! is carried out to its utmost logical consequences in the regions of religion and of morals.

To begin with the most terrible result which has ensued from the Pantheism of the Hindu, the grossly immoral acts which he attributes to his various divinities—the

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thievishness or the lewdness of Krishna, the ferocity or the blood-thirstiness of Kali are but expressions of the ultimate belief that every passion of humanity is not only implanted by the Creator, but displays, in its every manifestation, the very working of God, the act of the Creator Himself. No act can be so foul or so vindictive as to exclude it from the category of things divine; because the One indivisible Essence, which is Deity and worshipper alike, is acting as directly in it as in the sublimest of virtues. Why hesitate to attribute to a Divinity every action possible to man, when there is, in the ultimate analysis, no distinction between the two actors?

To the Christian each passion of humanity is an impulse indifferent in itself, implanted by the God who created him, to be restrained from evil tendencies, and to be mastered for lawful uses. The acts by which every passion finds actual expression in life, are to the Christian either holy or the opposite according as they are permitted by God, or are done in defiance of His law. He holds nothing unclean in itself, and nothing hallowed in itself; because to him all holiness and its opposite are constituted by the single consideration, how his Father has willed that he should act. To the Hindu, if consistent with his creed, no act whatsoever can be unholy; because the fact of its having taken place must constitute it necessarily divine: since there is but one Will in the universe, lasciviousness and chastity, vindictiveness and love, are alike the acts of that One. To the Christian all things are holy when ruled by holy conditions and done for a holy end. To the Hindu all are holy in themselves, and simply as existent; since they are proved by the fact of their existence to be the outcome, directly, of the Divine.

This presence of Deity in all things, this identification, indeed, of the Divine with everything that is, or can be,

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may be held by the enlightened philosopher as an abstract Pantheistic creed. It embodies itself for the vulgar in the unutterably degraded Pantheon sculptured in shameless stone on the popular temples of India.

For if God be so immanent in nature as to be no longer distinguishable from it, then everything that exists in nature may be equally regarded as divine. If the totality of nature be divine, and therefore an object of worship, it is then both obvious and easy to embody this distributed divinity in particular objects of adoration. The mind of the uneducated vulgar can grasp with difficulty, if at all, the conception of the One and All, of the body of nature as a whole, in which the Divinity is immanent. It is easier—more profitable also—to tell the uneducated worshipper to adore this man or this symbol which he can visit, and can see before his eyes, than to tell him to elevate his thoughts to Him who is everywhere and in all things. And, indeed, on the Pantheistic theory it is all one to which you direct him. The God who is present in nature, nay, who is identified with nature, is equally present in the whole of it, and in every part of that whole —in the temple, as in the universe; in the stock which grew out of the earth, as in the earth from which it grew; in the stone which has been formed through long ages, as in the ages through which it was formed; in the individual hero now dead, as in the race from which he sprang. What need, then, to trouble the vulgar with thoughts about the One and All? Give them sight of a portion of the whole, and that part so fashioned by our hands as to bring some divinity before them. Tell them, here is He whom you would worship; for He is everywhere, and therefore He is here. Go one step farther than this—tell them "these be thy gods, O India;" for God is all things that exist, and all things that exist are God, and therefore this is God, and this it is easy to adore.

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Alike, then, in the horrible legends which record the wickedness of the gods, and in the forms, grotesque or lascivious, which portray them to the popular eye, the enlightened student of the system discerns but the single tendency which characterizes Hinduism as a whole. They mean simply that everything is divine, that our worst deeds as well as our best are the direct, the inevitable outcome of the Infinite, self-realized as the finite.

The whole of these hideous distortions of moral and religious truth are the result, and the necessary result, of that first intellectual surrender by which Hinduism became false to itself as a religion, a spiritual provision for the moral needs of its adherents. It elected for logical completeness as an account of all that exists, at the cost of that spiritual satisfaction which it was bound to secure to its votaries as creatures in relation to a Creator. Refusing all mystical accommodations secured by denying to logic the right to dictate unchecked to the moral nature of man, it elected for a rounded-off system which should leave, on the side of pure reason, no room for dialectical difficulties to mar its philosophical completeness.

It may possibly seem at first sight as though such a system as this, or as though a race which could evolve such a system, and use it as a guide in life, could have little or nothing to contribute to the scheme of thought and living by which the Catholic Church is guided. But it is as true of systems as of men that if they have the *défauts de ses qualités*, they are bound to have the *qualités de ses défauts*—that the very points where the truth is misread in a system of philosophy or of religion will offer the surest indication, where to look for the special contribution to be made to the many-sidedness of truth by those who have thus misread it. Nay, the very completeness of the distortion, the very thorough-goingness of the error, will but indicate the depth of the lesson which

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the errant thinker has to offer. If Hinduism be sounded to its depths, in its religious and its moral aberrations, it will be found that European Christianity, and that English Christianity in especial, may gather from the fulness of the exposure some teaching profoundly needed for supplementing its own deficiencies. For while the Christian faith, indeed, may, in its fulness, acknowledge no deficiencies; that faith, as held by individuals, or as held by whole communities, may be simply honeycombed by them.[1]

What, then, is the underlying truth, what the sound way of looking at things, represented by distortions so gross as those characteristic of Hinduism? And how may the exaggerations or the deficiencies in an Englishman's contemplation of truth be chastened down or supplied by their study?

To put it first in the most general terms, Hindus have a sense of the totality of things, of the many being also the One, which is foreign to the English mind. A Hindu has a sense of relations where an Englishman sees only distinctions; he is always conscious of the forest where we see only the trees; has intuitions of ultimate unity

[1] It were hardly too much to affirm that in the ordinary religious thought which prevails at this day among ourselves such deficiencies extend so far, and have penetrated so terribly deep, that most of what we call our Christianity is hardly to be distinguished from Theism—save in so far as a few stock phrases embodying a belief in the Atonement are held to be a necessary corollary of attendance at church on Sundays. How far a great many of our church-goers believe or understand the Incarnation was brought home to my mind years ago by the following incident: I had been preaching, one Trinity Sunday, on the subject of the Nicene Creed, and in especial of the doctrine of the Homoousion; explaining as well as I could how our Lord is "of one substance with the Father." A prominent member of the congregation, an educated man and a communicant, was asked by a friend, when he went home, what the bishop had preached about that evening—"About Transubstantiation," he replied.

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where nothing is patent to us save only immediate variety. These intuitions, distinguishing the point of view, are of course what bring it about that a Hindu's thought about God in His relations with nature and with man are exclusively concerned with His immanence; whereas in English popular theology His transcendence is alone kept in mind.

And here it is that Hindu thought may do such marvellous service to Christianity. For wild as are the errors and aberrations, not spiritual only, but moral, which result from denying His transcendence, I believe that losing sight of His immanence proves equally fatal, in the long run, to any belief in Him at all.

Apart from an ultimate relation between God and all that exists, which no other term can express than that of His immanence in it all, we cannot believe in Him as Creator; while the Incarnation becomes absolutely unthinkable if we deem of Him as transcending His universe, and not also as immanent in it, and especially immanent in man. Indeed, if we do not find God in nature as well as above it, we shall end by eliminating Him altogether from the sphere of thought and of being.

The Pantheistic conception of God is but the thought of His immanence run mad. And yet the very wildness of its *amentia* is the measure of the truth which it exaggerates; the very hideousness of the distortions which ensue does but indicate the profundity and the beauty of the truth which we must be losing if we run into the opposite error.

One need only look rather more deeply — more sympathetically, which is much the same thing—into the intellectual consistency of Pantheism, to discern how fascinatingly complete is its appeal to the logical sense. It is a resolutely consistent attempt to solve the riddle of existence by reducing all that is to a single intellectual

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category; to find one eternal mode of being which shall include and account for the Universe in all its infinite variety; to solve the ancient problem of the many in relation to the One by bringing matter and spirit, finite and infinite, time and eternity, nature and God, man and his surroundings, under a single, all-embracing conception which shall include and explain them all. The fascination of a conception such as this it is difficult to bring home very deeply to our practical English common sense. Yet it has its appeal to us, as it undoubtedly has had its appeal to every thinking man in every reflective age. The form in which Englishmen take hold of it is generally materialistic. If we reduce all things that are to a single inclusive conception, we are apt to eliminate spirit, or to treat it as a mode of matter. The "infinite azure" of Tyndall, not absorption into the Divine, is that which an Englishman thinks of if he ceases to believe in immortality, and conceives of himself as returning at death into that from which he issued at birth.

The distinction of mind from matter has its difficulties for us as for others. We try, as our neighbours do, to bridge the impassable chasm which yawns between organism and consciousness; to find a common term which shall include the material process by which nerve communicates with brain, yet not wholly exclude from our purview that realization in consciousness which constitutes its spiritual correlative. But to us the temptation is to resolve the mental fact into a higher function of matter: we stand in little danger of resolving the facts of matter into being but a function of spirit.

Now, exactly the opposite holds good if we turn from the Briton to the Hindu. With a like, or a keener impatience of the natural dualism of conception with which he starts, like ourselves, he accepts as its obvious solution that spirit makes the necessary starting-point when he

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sets himself to resolve the antinomy; that matter, as it encounters us everywhere, will be found, in the ultimate analysis, to be but the necessary foil against which spirit is displayed. And he carries out this monistic conception with a ruthless logical consistency which is all but unattainable by us. Monism once accepted as a theory, he is prepared to carry it through, entirely indifferent to its consequences—though one of those consequences be to deny his own personal existence as anything different, or distinguishable from the existence of God or of Nature. His doctrine of *maya*, or illusion, is ever ready to come in if his argument requires extrication from difficulties such as this. True, he seems to himself to exist, to have a veritable, incommunicable identity distinct from everything else. True, the fact of his thinking and arguing would appear, he will admit, upon the face of it, to presuppose his thus existing. But all this exists only in seeming. He himself, his consciousness, his arguing, are a ripple on the boundless surface of the One and All of Being, which is God, which is Nature, which is all things. The stream exists and it flows on: the ripple is but a mode of its flowing, cast up for an instant to the surface, to be smoothed out of being again by the same mighty, ceaseless flow which threw it off, or seemed to do so. The stream, he says, is God, the ripple on its surface is man. The Godhead subsists for ever, in a ceaseless act of contemplation. God thinks—God dreams, if you will—and a moment in the thought of God, a vision in the dream of the Eternal, one effortless, inevitable realization of the infinite possibilities of His Being—it is this that constitutes the being in which man believes himself to exist. God has thought, God thinks, God will think; each moment the thought of the Eternal is passing from the future of possibility into the past of what has been; and that moment, that passing realization, that

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"confluence of two eternities" is a life, a human existence. Nay—why should we not go farther?—it is time, is the universe itself. The immanence of the Divinity in all things is that which gives them existence. And it were almost as true to say that from the standpoint of Hindu Pantheism His immanence in all things that are is that which gives Him His Existence. For on the Pantheistic theory He has no other existence; He does not transcend His creation, and support it as other than Himself; He is all things that are, simply as being immanent in them all, as realizing Himself in them, coming forth in them from the possible to the actual, so far as the two can be distinguished.

Apart from such expression of Himself, such realization in act of His eternal potentialities of Being, the Deity of consistent Pantheism is in no wise distinguishable from nothingness. The coalescence in His One sole Being, of opposites, of contradictory attributes, results in a final contradiction, by which each must cancel the others till colour and positive qualities are lost in absolute indifference. Pure Being is also pure nothingness if the theory of Pantheistic ontology be consistently followed out to its issues. Let good and evil, activity and passivity, power and weakness, love and hate be but predicated consistently and thoroughly of a Being, whether Infinite or finite, and the result will be blank nonentity. And such is the Brahm of the Hindu. He is everything and He is nothing alike.

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## CHAPTER III

### Summary Statement of the Relation of Christianity to Pantheism

(1) Christianity, while acknowledging the immanence of God, makes its first stand on His transcendence.
(2) It thus fails of the perfect logical consistency which Pantheism, on its own premises, attains to, but saves the freedom and responsibility of man, sacrificed by Pantheism.
(3) Christianity rather anticipates, than directly faces, the dilemma propounded by Pantheism; occupying a mystical position, in which the immanence of God is held side by side with His transcendence.
(4) Apart from belief in His immanence, His transcendence, held alone, leads to logical difficulties which would, in the end, invalidate it.
(5) The doctrine of the Trinity in Unity implies the immanence of the creature in the Creator; while that of the Incarnation presupposes the immanence of the Creator in the creature.
(6) Analysis of the doctrine of the Trinity: that God has, from eternity, within Himself, not only actual power and potential wisdom and love, but actual wisdom and love as well as Power; because, within the Divine Nature Itself, there exists the Object on which wisdom and love are eternally exercised.
(7) To believe otherwise about God were to treat Him as essentially imperfect.
(8) This is why the Church has laid such stress upon the belief in the Trinity in Unity, not as an abstract distinction, but as a religious truth.

But if this is the attitude of Hinduism in face of Pantheistic metaphysics—an attitude of absolute surrender of all that makes Religion worth having, an attitude which leaves sinful man to regard himself as one and the same

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with God, who is as sinful as himself, an attitude which makes sin and holiness indistinguishable each from the other—then how does Christianity stand in its relation to this same philosophy?

The first step to answering this question is to state uncompromisingly again that belief in a Transcendent Deity which is the first characteristic of our Faith. Christianity maintains without compromise, maintains as an absolute first principle, the distinction, essential and impassable, between God and created existence. It claims for created beings the glory of Divine Indwelling; it maintains that by His immanence in them, He sustains them all in being. But in claiming His immanence for them it can never forget for a moment the claims of absolute transcendence which belong to God Himself. It has this in common with Hinduism, that it takes the Existence of Spirit as accounting for the existence of matter—that it bases its theory of matter on finding its explanation and starting-point in the pre-existence of Spirit, that it accounts for the existence of matter by the creative action of Spirit—finds, as it were, the justification of its existence in its being the servant of spirit. But Christianity keeps steadily in sight the distinction, the impassable gulf, between God, the Creative Spirit, and the universe which His fiat created. It justifies its belief in His immanence by maintaining His absolute transcendence. It maintains that His Personal Existence is independent of anything outside Him—that He existed before the worlds were, and that in a conscious Being; that if He swept the whole universe of the finite into the nothingness from whence it came, He Himself would abide as before, Perfect although alone.

This resolute belief in His transcendence is the first foundation principle of all our beliefs about God in His relations with the universe which He has made.



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Yet if this stand isolated and alone, not tempered by belief in His immanence, then I maintain that in the face of modern knowledge it will fail to hold its own, and to command men's ultimate allegiance.

First or last, we must face the great problem which has exercised each great thinker since man first confronted the universe and tried to account for it to himself—the Finite and Infinite, the One and the Many, and the relations of each to the other. To do this is to feel the fascination which has drawn the thinkers of India in the direction of Pantheistic Monism. Nay, it is to find ourselves compelled to admit that, on the side of pure logic, ignoring all spiritual considerations, pure Pantheism has, on its own premises, a terrible compelling consistency, a consistency which belongs, and can belong, to no system acknowledging both spirit and matter, and believing in both an Infinite and a finite.

If we try to set before our minds the conception of an Infinite Creator, and that of a finite creation, co-existing in thought and in fact, we must encounter the following dilemma. The Creator is Infinite, we must say—He is Eternal, Self-sustained, Uncreated. One cannot predicate a Creator at all, and refuse to think of Him thus. Creation, next, is finite, has limitations in time and in space. There was a time when it did not exist, and now that it does exist, it is, *ex hypothesi*, finite. Then ask what is meant by your terms—what *finite* and *Infinite* convey to you. And we find, the very moment that we do so, that we are powerless to reconcile to our minds the contradiction introduced by the terms. The Infinite can have no limitations: to be without them is the essence of Infinity. The Infinite, in human thought, must include all things that are. If anything be excluded from its scope, then, so far, it has limitations—in a word, it is not Infinite. To believe in an Infinite being would seem to

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preclude one at once from believing in anything besides. Believe that there is anything at all which is not included in Infinity, and it would seem to human logic that the conceptions of Infinity and of the finite are evacuated of the only meaning which it is possible to attach to them at all. Either the finite is included in the Infinite—has no existence apart from it—and then you have no finite. Or else it is excluded from the Infinite—and then you have no Infinite; it is limited by the very exclusion.

Now, on this fundamental problem, on this seemingly inevitable dilemma, Pantheistic Monism is based. With ruthless logical consistency it fastens upon this contradiction. True, it says, both Infinite and finite cannot be conceived of together, nay, they cannot exist together. The finite, as we seem to recognize it, as we seem to be conscious of it in ourselves, is only a mode of the Infinite —a ripple, to repeat the illustration, on the surface of that One and All which is the Infinite, which is God, which is Nature, which is my human self, in so far as I have an existence.

It must of course be freely admitted that in point of sheer logical completeness, of uncompromising consistency with itself, a monistic system of thought has the advantage over any philosophy which acknowledges spirit and matter, or which takes count of both Infinite and finite. Be it the thorough-going Pantheism of the Hindu, or the thorough-going materialism of a Hæckel, then, whatever be its moral deficiencies, yet intellectually it is rounded into completeness.

It may be argued, indeed it ought to be maintained, that to gain intellectual completeness at the cost of spiritual suicide is, after all, but a doubtful advantage. And yet it will remain sadly difficult to maintain a moral position which seems to be logically untenable. While to some the temptation will be strong to catch at a specious excuse,

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with much to be said for it argumentatively, which may render the categorical imperative of inconvenient moral obligations less binding than it seemed at first sight. It may be perfectly true, on the one hand, that if we wait for our moral imperative till we have based it on unassailable logic, we shall remain unsatisfied for ever. But it is equally true, on the other, that if we offer for acceptance by the will a demand for moral obedience whose spiritual claim is unsupported by a consistent philosophical scheme, the impulses which we seek to control will take advantage of the logical weakness admitted by the law which would control them.

It is impossible, then, in the long run, that a system of Christian thought should maintain itself either spiritually or morally in dependence on a Personal God, if its view of His relations with His universe be indefensible from the side of the understanding. I do not say that in problems such as these it is possible for a system to be framed which shall support itself by reasoning alone, with no mystical appeal to the spirit at the point where human conceptions fall short of apprehending the Divine. But I do say that if our conceptions of the Divine are vitiated from first to last by positions whose manifest inadequacy reduces them to self-contradiction, it is certain that nemesis will follow when the common understanding of mankind refuses to accord them its adhesion.

Now this is what is bound to supervene if our belief in the transcendence of the Deity, in His entire independence of His universe is untempered by belief in His immanence. This, indeed, is what is actually happening in the case of the average Englishman who thinks on such subjects at all. His belief in God as the Creator has been pushed back stage by stage till it has ceased altogether to be held as a present working fact in the daily procedure of the universe. God is held to have started things once, by a

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single creative act, upon a course which from that day to this has been left to go mechanically forward independently of His Personal interference. Law, in fact, has been substituted for God.

From this practically deistic position the step to atheistic materialism is neither long nor difficult. If God be not actively present to all that goes forward in His universe, if any invariable operation of what we call the laws of nature be not thought of as actually His work, if we think of the least, or the least variable, of the forces at work before our eyes as mechanical in any such sense as shall exclude His personal operation, I can see no reason whatever for assuming a personal Creator to give the first start to the whole. I but put this in a different form, to bring it into closer connection with the subject assigned to this article, if I say that a belief in God's immanence, to temper the thought of His transcendence, is a condition, and a necessary condition, of believing in transcendence itself.

For apart from such belief in His immanence, there are only, I think, two forms in which belief in His transcendence can be held. While to each of these alike the uniform procedure of nature, as realized by us at this day, must prove certainly and rapidly fatal when apprehended in its logical bearings.

There is first the Mohammedan position, which treats every fact in the universe as the isolated, arbitrary expression of a will imposed on it from without; which makes belief in secondary causes an impiety, a blasphemous limitation of the arbitrary freedom of Allah.

And next there is the Deistic conception of an Epicurean Divinity who has started a universe on its course, as a man on the brow of a hill starts a stone to roll down by itself, and to work out its future course, uncontrolled, or uncontrollable by its mover.

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Under either of these conceptions there is absolutely no room left for interpreting the uniformity of nature as a mode of the working of God. To the Mohammedan everything alike is arbitrary—one might almost say, miraculous—imposed from moment to moment by a Will which might as well have done otherwise; which acted exactly as it did, just because it did so will, apart from any absolute perfection in either the end to be effected, or the means by which it is brought about. To such a Creed as this the uniformity of nature is fatal, if once it be realized scientifically; because the thought of uniform procedure and that of arbitrary decision are diametrically opposed to one another. Let uniformity once be realized, and the arbitrary Mohammedan Ruler is eliminated for ever from the universe.

But the Western or Deistical conception of transcendence untempered by immanence is hardly more capable of maintaining itself when confronted with modern knowledge. It admits the conception of a Creator, to account for the starting of the machine, but eliminates His Personal action from the processes by which it is sustained.

Time was when it seemed possible and plausible to argue that there were stages in the process, represented by the Days of Creation, when nothing but direct operation on the part of a Personal Creator could account for things coming into being; while it was conceivable that in the level interspaces they might go forward almost of themselves—according, no doubt, to God's fiat, but without His actual intervention. Or again, when the belief in Evolution was breaking up such a position, it was argued that for the fall of the apple one needed not to postulate anything save that God had ordained gravitation, and that the apple was mechanically fulfilling an order made æons before: while for the intelligence of Newton, who saw

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it, and inferred from it the law of gravitation, we must assume a creative act, differentiating man from the brutes.

But the Hindu is surely more logical when he argues that philosopher and apple are alike unintelligible and impossible unless we think of them on just the same plane—that both in their several ways are manifestations, self-realizations of the One Eternal Principle which energizes as thought and as gravitation, which is Newton and apple at once; is the thought which brings the two into relation; is at once the Eternal Law and the particular instance which exemplifies it; is the brain which makes possible the reasoning, and the consciousness which works through the brain.

For, in the face of our knowledge to-day, it is impossible to fix upon a stage where there comes in a difference in kind between any two processes of evolution. We cannot treat any one stage as necessitating a personal act, if that personal act be excluded—nay, if it be not expressly assumed—for every moment in the development; if any the most mechanical stage in the age-long process of the development be independent of a personal agency on the part of the Creator Himself. The first whirl of the cosmic vapour from which nebulæ are growing at this moment, and from which our own planet grew out, must contain potentially within itself, to the elimination of personal agency, the last stage as well as the first of everything into which it has developed. We realize in far too much detail the infinitesimal gradations, the inevitable sequences of the development, to admit any difference in kind between any two moments in the whole. God everywhere or God nowhere—such would seem to be the inevitable alternative which confronts the thinker of to-day.

And here, as it presents itself to me, is the point where the doctrine of immanence, as embodied in the Pantheism

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of India, comes in with such marvellous suggestiveness to correct our English Deism—for such, in the ultimate resort, is the attitude described just above—and to call back Christian thought to the true New Testament conception of the universe as related to God.

The immanence of all things in God, as eternally conceived in the Logos "through whom all things were made," and the immanence of the Creator in all things, when the creative act has taken place—so that, again, "in Him all things subsist"—this, not any isolated transcendence, is the doctrine of St. Paul and St. John. It is mystical rather than logical—what doctrine can be anything but mystical which professes to set forth for the creature his relations with the Infinite Creator? But at least it is consistent with itself; does not start by inviting against itself the assaults of an outraged logic which is capable of avenging itself sevenfold.

But this must be drawn out in full detail if it is to carry conviction to the reader.

If I can state the attitude of our religion towards these vast riddles of existence, I can exhibit the possible service to be rendered by Hindus to Christianity. The task is neither easy nor short. It necessitates abstract reasonings, which one knows to be of all things least palatable to the practical English mind. Yet an attitude it is necessary to find if Christianity is to hold us as its votaries. Neither Pantheism nor Materialism count for nothing in the thought of the most ordinary people. They are powers to be reckoned with by all of us—most of all, as I have indicated above, by those who least realize them as such. For they represent essential tendencies in human thinking as such. And if our thoughts about God and His universe contain no element within them, either unconsciously or consciously present, to guard us against these tendencies; then we find, in the ultimate resort, that

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we are started on a process of thinking which will end in our accepting, and acting out the conclusions to which they lead on.

To go back to the typical experience which I put in the forefront, above, as a specimen of Christian thought, distinguishing it from Hindu Pantheism—all Christians believe, like Newman, though they could not express it like him, in "two luminously self-existent beings, one's self and one's Creator." Do we—did Newman, as a man, looking back to the experience of his childhood—contrive to hold fast this belief by simply ignoring the dilemma which has landed the Indian in Pantheism? Or is there that in the Christian Faith, unconsciously or consciously held, which either meets or anticipates the difficulty?

The dilemma, on the logical side, is absolutely and terribly complete. Does Christianity leave us, unguided, to take our choice between two alternatives, each of which seems equally impossible? Or does she accept, as a system, the alternative which Hinduism refused? Does she believe in a transcendence of God which leaves all things, when once He has made them, entirely outside His own Being, no matter how flagrant the contradiction between this limitation of His Infinity, and that belief in it which she has just pressed upon us? Or does she find—what Hinduism refused—some means of reconciling His transcendence with that immanence which Infinity presupposes? And if so, then what is the accommodation, what the mystical belief about God which softens the logical contradiction, yet preserving to its terms their real meaning? Above all, while avoiding the contradiction, or softening down its inevitable harshness, does she save for the followers of Christ what Hindus have disastrously lost, their belief in human free will, in responsibility, in sin, in repentance? And does she save these essentials of

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religion without totally stultifying her position in relation to metaphysical problems?

To begin with a brief summary of the answer:—Christianity is before all things the Creed of the Blessed Trinity and the Incarnation. It starts with the Word made Flesh; with God become the Brother of His creatures; with God descending into the sphere of His own universe, and tarrying a while with us in the flesh; with a redemption effected for man, because in the words of St. Athanasius, God became human that man might become divine: Θεὸς ἐνηνθρώπησεν ἵνα ἡμεῖς θεοποιήθωμεν. And thus believing in God becoming man, she was led on by the necessities of the position to think out a conception of God in His Eternal, Essential Being, which should harmonize with this primary belief about what He had done for us in time. In a word, holding fast to the Incarnation, she was compelled to believe in the Blessed Trinity.

And these companion beliefs anticipate and render unnecessary the dilemma between transcendence and immanence. Believe in the truth of the Logos, and the creation of all things through Him, and you are led to an immanence of all things in the Eternal Thought of the Creator. Believe in the Logos as Incarnate, and you believe implicitly and necessarily in an immanence of God in His creation, when once He has called it into being. Transcendence is impossible of belief unless immanence be held side by side with it. But to those who believe these two truths, the facts of the Trinity and the Incarnation, transcendence is tempered by immanence, and the contradiction between the two disappears.

This, I take it, is the first great essential of a religious account of the Universe—that it secure for those who accept it a belief in the transcendence of the Creator

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which shall yet not wholly exclude a companion belief in His immanence. Like many another truth which is essential to Christian thought, that belief in His transcendence of the universe which I tried to put forward above as the first characteristic of Christianity, forms a member of a great antinomy, wherein two necessary beliefs seem wholly to contradict one another, while yet neither of them can be reasonably held except as complementary to the other. Apart from belief in His immanence, I cannot repeat it too often, His transcendence leads only to contradictions which, in the end, will reduce it to absurdity. And so with His immanence as well. While, on the other hand, each must be held fast if we desire to preserve for religion her own great moral domain, her belief in human responsibility, and in a God, to Whom we are accountable. Let transcendence lapse from our thought, and we are landed, as Hinduism is, in all the immoral conclusions which a reasoned-out Pantheism necessitates. Let go the belief in His immanence, and Materialism at once looms in sight, with its denial of a Ruler of the universe, to whom creatures must answer for their deeds.

At the present point in my argument, it is with Pantheism alone that we have to deal. When I come to the service to be rendered to the thought of Christendom as a whole, by those who are Pantheists to-day, were they brought into the fold of Jesus Christ, I shall have much to say about Materialism, as that against which they might help us. For the present my object is this—to show how the Truths of Christianity, as set forth by St. John and St. Paul, the truths of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation, anticipate for Christian believers the dilemma so fatal to Hindus, between the truth of God's immanence in all things, and that of the reality of things finite.

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The Pantheistic position, as such, is not dealt with directly in the Bible. It does not state the problem, and put forward any doctrine as the answer: it does that which is more satisfactory. No reply to a dilemma propounded can meet it with half the effectiveness secured by statements of fact which, implicitly and intelligently believed, raise faith to a plane quite above it.

I must proceed, then, to draw out at length those truths of the Christian religion which meet, and which resolve by implication, the age-long antinomies and contradictions which have issued in Materialism and Pantheism.

Our belief in the Tri-Unity of Persons within the One Divine Being carries with it the immanence of Creation in the Eternal Thought of the Creator.

Our belief in the incarnation of the Logos carries with it the immanence of God in the universe, when once He has created it.

I begin with the first of these truths; because the immanence of the creature in God is to the immanence of God in creation both πρότερον ἁπλως and πρότερον ἡμῖν; it comes first in the order of being, and first in the order of thought.

What, then, do we actually mean when we speak of a Trinity of Persons as subsisting in the One Divine Nature? Simply this—that in His proper perfection, as being from eternity perfect, our God has essentially, within Himself, His own objects of love and of contemplation; that He is Subject and Object to Himself, and that in regard of the two attributes which most essentially constitute perfection—what we must call in our human language, which alone can embody it to us, both the moral and the intellectual aspects of a conscious, personal existence. For if we reflect intelligently at all on what we mean by Divine Perfection, we shall find that a

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revelation of God must include, if it is really to appeal to us, the whole of what we know, or can conceive of as most perfect in our own human nature—must include, therefore, these three attributes: perfect Power, perfect Wisdom, perfect Love.

Now of these three essentials of perfection only one can be thought of at all apart from a realized activity. We can conceive of power as existing apart from any actual exercise. To be capable of exerting it is to possess it. It were, perhaps, not an actual contradiction to conceive of wisdom as existing with nothing on which to be exercised, without ever having actually been exercised, as a bare potentiality, and no more. But if it be not an actual contradiction, it is, at any rate, a total unreality. To be wise, in an intelligible sense, the being to whom wisdom is attributed must have something about which to be wise. To profess to think otherwise about wisdom, to think of any being as possessing it, with nothing whereupon it can be exercised, seems to me to be a juggling with words.

But with love we must go farther than this. The very thought of it assumes as its condition the conception of something to be loved, of something actually and veritably existent, towards which it is ever going forth.

To think, then, about God as being perfect, we must think of Him as actually loving—as having, therefore, some object to love; and we must think of Him as actually wise—as having, therefore, some object to contemplate, that on which He may exercise His wisdom.

But the object of His love and of His wisdom must needs be co-eternal with Himself. And this leaves us with the following alternative:—either God must have been actually imperfect before He had anything to love or anything to contemplate; or, second, there must have been something from eternity which He could contemplate

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as other than Himself; or, third, He must have within Himself, co-essential and co-eternal with His Being, what to contemplate and what to love. In other words there must eternally subsist within the unity of the One Divine Nature, distinctions—personalities, the Church calls them—by which, in virtue of which, He is at once a Being who loves, and at the same time a Being who is loved, a Being who contemplates, who is wise, and a Being who is contemplated, on whom wisdom is exercised. And all this as no mere abstraction, no trifling with words without meaning; but veritably, essentially, eternally, just because He is God, and therefore perfect.

Of these three possible alternatives, the first is a contradiction in terms—that the Perfect One is essentially imperfect. The second is equally contradictory, for it would predicate of the sole First Cause that there was something co-eternal with Himself; of which, therefore, He is not the originator.

The third lies beyond our comprehension—did it not, it were unworthy of Him—but it does shadow forth to our understanding, it does offer to our adoring love, the idea of that Infinite Perfection, without which we cannot think of Him at all.

And thus it is that He has revealed Himself to His Church—"GOD IS LOVE," we are told by St. John. Nor has He left this conception unexplained. "The WORD was with God," we are told, "and the WORD WAS GOD." The Word was with God, πρὸς τὸν Θεόν—"the Face of the Everlasting Word, if we may so dare to express ourselves, was ever directed towards the Face of the Everlasting Father"—so Dr. Liddon paraphrased the force of the preposition in this expression. In other words, God is Love from Eternity, because God ever has within Himself His own Object of perfect Love.

"GOD IS LOVE," be it observed—not simply loves,

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or feels love. Even to love means to have something to love; something, therefore, which is not wholly one's self; an object which is not so included in one's own very personal being, but that it is realized as other than one's self—as that to which one's self can go forth, and can be spent in affection upon it. But TO BE LOVE—to have not only His most essential expression, but His absolutely most intimate Being in this Act of going forth to Another —that what most truly constitutes Him Himself should be this act of so going forth—what, I ask, does this not imply of the veritable existence of something which is at once both not-self and Self to Him Who is said to BE LOVE? To BE LOVE, as we are told that God IS—it must mean, if words can mean anything, that there are included in the Being of our God both Lover and Beloved at once. He can love, He does love, other beings, whom He has made, who are distinct from Himself. But to BE LOVE must mean more than this—nothing less than all that is meant when we speak of there being Persons within the Godhead; of there being within the Divinity distinctions which are not individualities; of there being reciprocities within the Godhead, which subsist without divisibility; of the interchange of mutual affection within the Divine Triad Itself; and of this Eternal activity of the Divine as being that which constitutes Him what He is. "DEUS Est Actus Purus," says St. Thomas Aquinas, and the deepest meaning of his words seems to lie in God being LOVE.

I have tried to indicate above the contradictions and absurdities which emerge if we think of Divine Love and Divine Knowledge as existing from all eternity apart from some distinction in the Godhead which shall secure to these Attributes of God an existence Eternal and Self-subsistent, while denying to Him in our human conceptions some Object whereupon they may be exercised.

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To these impossibilities and contradictions the belief in the Holy Trinity is the answer. We believe in a God who IS LOVE, in a Being who includes, from Eternity, within His own adorable Perfection, both Love, as actual, not possible, and an Object for the exercise of that Love; both Eternal actuality of Wisdom, and an Object, Eternal as Himself, whereupon that Contemplation may be exercised.

But Love, Love Eternal, Love Essential, Love implying a distinction of Persons—such love, once conceived of as the Being of the Godhead, all difficulties in conceiving of Wisdom as equally Essential and Eternal disappear from our beliefs about God. He is eternally and essentially Wisdom, as He is eternally and essentially Love; for He has within His own perfect Being an Eternal Object of Knowledge as well as an Object of Love. He is Subject and Object to Himself in what we, with our human distinctions, when we speak of mere finite beings, call the intellectual aspect of perfection.

This is why the Trinity in Unity, the profoundest of doctrinal beliefs, the most abstract, most metaphysical, as it is considered, has been clung to with such passionate intensity by the Catholic Church in all ages. This is why the "diphthong" of the *Homoiousion* was rejected by Athanasius and his disciples, at the cost of dismembering Christendom—because on the Eternity of the Word, on the distinction of Persons within the Godhead, as of the Essence of the One Divine Nature, hangs all the belief of the Christian that his God is Perfect within Himself; that from Eternity He has what to love; that in Himself He has what to know; that He lives, does not merely exist, independently of everything save Himself; that He exercises essentially and eternally the two most exalted acts which are conceivable and intelligible to man; that He was not necessitated to create, to call something not

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Himself into being, before He could realize in act the potentialities of Wisdom and of Love. For the Catholic, who realizes his faith, to deny that God is Triune is to deny that He is verily God, the essentially, the eternally Perfect. And therefore, when Athanasius was asked if there ever was a time when the Father was without His Logos, he merely put the counter-interrogation, whether God was eternally wise; the two thoughts being one and the same.

This truth, I now would maintain, throws a light, very real though mystical, upon the attitude to be adopted by Christianity upon that which I have spoken of above as the first essential condition of a religious account of the Universe, a resolution of the grand antinomy between the immanence of God and His transcendence. It was, I am fully persuaded, this belief in the Trinity in Unity, side by side with that in the Incarnation, which rendered Christianity of old impervious to danger from Pantheism; which unconsciously anticipated the dilemma on which Hinduism made shipwreck of itself; which preserves responsibility and freedom to the finite creatures of God's hand, compatibly with a steadfast belief in the Omnipotence and the transcendence of the Creator.

The dilemma, to present it once more, is that between Infinity in God and objective reality in things finite. To do away with the contradiction altogether were beyond any form of belief: it is a difficulty inherent in thought, and cannot be eliminated from it. It is no mere trick of logicians, as so many of us are apt to consider it: it represents a tremendous problem, whose crushing immensity and difficulty has haunted the human understanding since it first looked out upon all things; which will haunt it so long as it exists, and exercises itself on the Universe around it. Let belief in a Self-existent Being be grasped as a reality at all, and His very Infinity,



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as such, seems to shame all other existence into shadowiness, indeed into nothingness. The contingent seems to shrivel into nought, the very moment the Absolute is conceived of; the finite, to become the unreal, when the Infinite is thought of at all.

But belief in the Trinity of persons within the Unity of the One Divine Nature softens down, offers a mystical solution of, that flat contradiction in terms which the dilemma presents at first sight. And this I would set forth in three stages:

(1) The truth of the Eternity of the Logos, of the Divine Word, or Wisdom of God, as a Person consubstantial with the Father, softens down that transcendence of God which underlies all Christian belief; renders it not incompatible altogether with belief in an immanence of all things in the Eternal contemplation of God.

(2) The Divinity of God the Holy Ghost, our belief in the Love of God as being, like His wisdom, Eternal, softens down the idea of the transcendence along another line of thought. It allows of our thinking of creation, of the creative act itself, as constituting, on the part of the Creator, an act of self-realization, a completion of Himself in the creature, which spans that yawning gulf which the Pantheist maintains to exist between the Infinity of the Deity and the finitude, the nothingness of all else. It makes room for the existence of the finite as something which is actually real, while yet the belief in its reality shall not intrench with a contradiction on the thought of the Infinity of God. And this, secured, brings infinite help towards satisfying the instincts of adoration. Can we think of the work of God's hands as constituting a realization of His own adorable perfection, as actually furnishing to Him a completion of His own Divine attributes? then we have in actual possession what man has so craved to attain to. For by her doctrine of the

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Trinity in Unity, with the opening for belief in God's immanence which I trust I have shown that it preserves to us, the Church has enabled us to believe in a union between Creator and creature which shall leave full standing for the creature, shall present it to us not wholly swallowed up, not annihilated, not crushed into nothingness by being thought of as merely illusory, as but a mode of the Divine One and All. There is a provision for thinking of it thus, in our belief that God is Love, and that when He created the world He realized, by evolving the contingent, a longing connatural to the Self-existent.

(3) And third, the Incarnation of the word anticipates the challenge of Pantheism from, again, a different point of view. For the bare thought of a personal Incarnation, of God descending into His world, to adopt a creaturely nature into personal union with Himself, presupposes a previous relation which can only be thought of at all as an immanence of Himself in the finite from the moment when He called it into being.

The mutual immanence of Creator and created, the absolute oneness of Infinite and finite, the all-inclusiveness of the Absolute Being—this belief is what lends to the Pantheist a claim to a consistency of thought, to a logical exhaustiveness of conception, which he denies to every thinker who holds fast by the transcendence of the Deity and by the veritable reality of the creature, as companion factors in his beliefs.

This claim to logical consistency—on his own premises, and with his own exclusions — Christian thinkers are bound to concede to him. They do maintain, to enforce it again, that his premises are vitiated from the first by his ignoring one side of the antinomy which his logic professes to resolve. They are prepared, with equal persistence, to say that the moral conclusions to which his premises inevitably lead him are fatal, in the eyes of true

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thinkers, to even the intellectual completeness which he vaunts as characteristic of his philosophy. They will not claim for themselves that their belief in the Trinity in Unity does more, on the philosophical side, than mystically anticipate difficulties which, stated, are logically insoluble. But they can and ought to declare that their own Trinitarian beliefs, albeit they are mystical and theological—incapable, therefore, of verification by ordinary processes of logic—do soften the inevitable contradiction which Pantheism thrusts in our faces.

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## CHAPTER IV

### Detailed Statement of the Relations of Christianity with Pantheism

The dilemma propounded by Pantheism is anticipated by the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation, which provide, and that in three stages, for belief in immanence side by side with transcendence.

(1) Belief in the eternal existence of the Logos, as the Wisdom of the Father necessitates the immanence of the finite in God, Who for ever contemplates it in the Logos as other than Himself.

(2) The eternal existence of the Holy Spirit as the personal Love of God, allows for a creative act which shall form a true Self-realization on the part of the Creator. For this truth, while it saves to our conceptions of the Deity the necessary idea of a love which is eternal, yet allows us to conceive of the Creative Act as giving scope for a new form of love—to created beings. Nor does this involve any limitation of the Divine freedom; since love is the attribute in which the ideas of liberty and necessity merge into oneness.

(3) The Incarnation of the Logos involves, as a presupposition, the immanence of God in creation; since it were inconceivable apart from this, that the gulf between Infinite and finite should be spanned at a given moment in time; while, granted this immanence, the farther thought of a union being effected between the two, personally in Christ, sacramentally in ourselves, is congruous with the entire original relation between God and His creatures.

(4) This conception of Divine immanence is not vitiated by the fact of sin, any more than belief in Divine Omnipotence and Goodness. As far as our faculties can discern, the possibility of free choice of God equally carries with it the possibility of mischoice,

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whether we believe in a sacramental union with an immanent Deity, or only in a revealed knowledge of a transcendent Deity.

To work out this thesis, then, on the threefold lines which I have indicated.

I start with the doctrine of the Logos—the Eternal, Divine Personality of the Word or Wisdom of God.

To God, to a perfect Being, to be wise essentially and eternally is to have within His own Divine nature both subject and object of contemplation—as I tried to show above that wisdom, apart from some object upon which it can be actually exercised, is meaningless, can hardly be conceived of; while the object for Divine contemplation must be co-eternal with Him who exerts it. This Divine Wisdom or Thought is revealed to us under the title of the Logos, a term which combines within itself the ideas of reason as existent, and of that same reason as manifested or expressed. This Thought, or Wisdom, or Logos is set forth to us in the Prologue to St. John's Gospel, as One with Himself, yet not as being so Himself but that He contemplates, and, by the act of contemplation, eternally generates the Word as the essential expression of Himself.

Through this Word, this realization of His own thought, this eternal and essential Self-expression, we are told that He created the æons. In Him, the Logos, we are told that, when created, they have their subsistence.

To the Pantheist all things subsist but in so far as they are contemplated by the Divine—God thinks a universe, says the Hindu, and because, and so long as He thinks it, it subsists, it has, in virtue of His thought, a seeming quasi-existence, as a moment in the dream of the unconscious, a bubble on the surface of the stream which is God, and nature, and all things. Let the dream pass away and be determined, and this illusory quasi-existence is no longer anything at all.

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A Christian can accept this position so far, and only so far, as to say that all things that are owe their being to the Eternal Word, to the Thought or Wisdom of God; that in This they were immanent from Eternity, and that this immanence in Him, the Logos, the Personal Thought of the Creator, makes them veritably immanent in God—yet not so immanent even thus as to be in no sense objective to Him; because the Word, in Whom the Father conceives them, is other than the Father, though One with Him.

A Pantheist, doubtless, will reply that all this is perfectly true, as applied to that immanent existence, that prevision of the Eternal Mind, that intention of God to create, which alone can be thought of as Eternal; but that to grant them objective existence, an existence as aught but a dream, but a mode of the One Divine Being, is to land one's self in the total contradiction which emerges of necessity and at once when finite and Infinite Being are spoken of as actually coexisting. While this belief in their actual reality, in their being more than a mode of the Infinite, Christianity must necessarily cling to: for to abandon it for the sake of consistency on the logical side of the question were to part with her most precious inheritance, the freedom and responsibility of the creature. While she believes that in His Personal Logos God eternally contemplated the creature as in so far immanent in Himself, she yet holds that He called things in time to an existence, real and objective; as being His own, yet not as part of Himself; as not simply a dream or a moment in His Own Eternal Existence, but as verily subsisting, having being; sustained, it is true, by His Power, yet sustained in a contingent existence which is essentially different in kind from His own unapproachable Being.

A Christian thinker will not, then, pretend that this mystical revelation of the Scriptures does away with the

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logical contradiction on which Pantheism delights to insist; will not think to compass the Divine in the narrow human vessel on whose perfection the Hindu prides himself. But he will say that this mystical accommodation—a matter, be it clearly observed, of no philosophical invention, but set down in words in the Scriptures, Divinely revealed from above—does soften what cannot be avoided. He will say, as I have tried to say above, that the difference between Pantheism and Christianity, between Hinduism as surrendering to Pantheism, and the Gospel as a spiritual system, lies in this—that the absolute surrender of Hinduism to Pantheistic Metaphysics is a betrayal of our spiritual needs for the sake of intellectual satisfaction; while his own more mystical Creed does preserve for the follower of Christ the essentials of a vital Religion—preserving at the same time to our reason that belief in the immanence of all things in Him through whom they exist, to deny which were to land us conclusively in the pitfall of logical contradiction avoided, so he claims, by the Hindu.

The Pantheist, of course, will maintain that to hold this in any sense at all is to accept that flat contradiction from which he himself has escaped by the consistency of his system of philosophy—that to predicate objectivity of the creature in any shape whatever is to stultify one's belief in the Creator, is to reduce the Infinity of the Divine to a mere form of words without meaning, is to predicate relations of the Absolute, is to cease altogether to be a thinker, and to sacrifice on the altar of Religion that first essential of Philosophy, its exhaustive, ontological completeness.

How far is the Christian apologist to accept the *impasse* thus propounded? Is he simply to acquiesce in it as insoluble—to say that if he must needs make a choice between the claims of his intellect and of his spirit, he

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elects for the moral and the spiritual at the cost of sacrificing the intellectual?

Were this the last word on the question it would be better to make even this sacrifice than to allow man's sense of responsibility to be surrendered in the interests of logic.

But this is not, after all, the last word. Our Christian belief in the Logos, in the Eternity of the Divine Contemplation, and in the Personality of the Wisdom of God, serves at any rate to mitigate the difficulty where the immanence of all things in God forms the question over which we are challenged. And our belief in the Eternity of Love will be found to serve a like purpose, where the transcendence of God over the creature is challenged by Pantheism in its turn.

In attempting to grapple with this problem, I would take as the point of departure the act of Creation itself. For it is here, as I have always thought, that the difficulty presents itself most crucially. Shelley taunted the Christian religion with presenting a God for our adoration, Who awoke "from an Eternity of idleness" to create the universe of matter. And the taunt puts as powerfully as possible the difficulty which apologists have to meet. An Eternity of Infinite Existence; then time, with the finite, the contingent, existing as distinguishable from the Infinite: while yet the Infinite Being is to be conceived of as none the less Infinite for the existence of something not Himself—language staggers, inadequate, helpless, when one would compass some form of expression to resolve an antinomy such as this.

One is struggling to set forth the inexpressible, when one thinks of an Eternal Creator as making a new departure by calling into actual being a Universe whose existence from Eternity had been only as immanent in His thought. One has to use our poor human

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phraseology to express what thought hardly conceives, what must "break through language and escape." For one seems, must seem, in effect, to predicate *before* and *after* of One whose Essential Existence is in the "NUNC STANS" of Eternity, where all things are equally present.

The difficulty, indeed, which one encounters is not only a difficulty of language: it is inherent in thought itself. One must speak—even Scripture has to speak—of a beginning of time, of time as succeeding to Eternity, contradictory as this is to itself. And one must think of things conditioned by space as the work of, and as related to One, who in Himself is "incomprehensible," not liable to conditions of space. Time and space are realities to ourselves, but in treating of God and His creation one has to deal with them as inapplicable to Him; although they are conditions and categories of our own conceptions of all things. In fact, one has to treat them, in such a context, as but foils for an Existence which transcends them; as being practically negations to Him, though to us they are the first of realities. One has to think of the contingent, the finite, side by side with the reality of the Infinite; while all the time, the very use of the terms seems to show as a blank contradiction against the background of Him, the Eternal, whose very Being would shame into nothingness whatever is not Himself.

One thinks of God only, God Eternally existing—then of finite, creaturely existence, which yet must be hypostatized as real, as an object to Him who is infinite, and who, in His Eternal Self-existence, is subject and object to Himself in the ineffable Life of the Blessed Trinity.

For it is here, in the thought of the Tri-Unity, that some relief, some help comes in. We have seen how some glimmering of light seems to fall on what before was sheer darkness, when we think of the Personality of the Logos, in whom God conceived and created the world of

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creaturely beings; a standing-ground for their immanence in Himself thus softening the thought of His transcendence. And similarly some help seems to come towards conceiving of the act of creation, when we think of the Personality of the Love which, so far as we can venture on the distinction, forms His original motive or tendency towards creation. If we dwell only on the Thought or Wisdom, in which all things were immanent from eternity, but neglect the idea of the Love which prompted their actual creation; then the passage of the creatures of God from their immanence, as conceived of by Him, into actual objective existence, as other than a mode of Himself, would seem only a blank contradiction.

But the Spirit is everywhere revealed to us as the Person by whose creative activity the universe was called into being; exactly as the Word of the Father is revealed to us as the causal medium whereby they were conceived in His contemplation. And as the Son is the Wisdom of God, so the Spirit is the Love of God, subsisting as a Person from eternity. And it is here, in the conception of Love, that we learn what silvers the darkness when we think upon the act of creation.

It is a marvellous half-truth which is set forth when Pantheism insists upon creation, on the illusory, so-called existence which it concedes to finite things, as being necessarily but a realization of the eternal potentialities of the One and All. How far can a Christian lay claim to incorporate the thought into his system? How far can we look upon the universe as constituting a Self-realization of Him Whom we must hold to transcend it? Is the thought compatible in any way with that actual objectivity of things finite, with that freedom and accountability of man which we cling to as an essential of our faith? Through the thought of Divine Love as Eternal, through the action of the Spirit, who is Love, in

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calling us into actual being, we can hold ourselves, hold all things that exist, as forming such a realization, such an actual Self-manifestation of something connatural and coeternal to the Divine Creator Himself.

Eternal, self-existent love, with a veritable object for its exercise, is essential to any conception of a God who is perfect in Himself. How far can a similar conception be applied to love on His part to anything which is not Himself? The Eternal Love of God is, above all else that we can think of, the necessary Self-realization of the Divine in its fullest perfection. He is Love; Love makes Him Himself, as nought else can be conceived to do. Can the same be thought or said of Love to the creature, to the contingent? Do we limit His Divine Perfections by assuming that aught but Himself was needed for its realization? If this difficulty is not insurmountable, then the conception of Love upon His part as accounting for the act of creation would render it a Self-realization, a finding of His proper perfection, without our being necessitated in thought to deny its being other than Himself.

I said above that the conception of love carried with it as essential to itself, the thought of an object to be loved. And side by side with this thought, I would now advance another—that when we speak of love in God—I might say of any attribute whatsoever, or of any act whatsoever, which we know to be proper to Him—we are dealing with the outcome of Infinite Perfection. For every act of God is that of One who is perfect; who can will nothing, do nothing, be nothing which is not the outcome of perfection; whose acts partake of the perfection which constitutes His Personal Being. To create us, and all finite beings, as objects of love, was an act, then, in that perfect existence.

We may say, indeed we must say, that it is impossible

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to limit His Perfection—to deny that He were equally perfect were we swept out of being at this moment; that He had been equally perfect had He never created us at all. And yet, when all this has been said, there remains the bare fact that He did create us—that, therefore, He has found His Perfection, has acted out all that He is in this particular way; and that, therefore, this particular way has its own essential Perfection, is a part of the Perfection of the Most High. Does this seem to be self-contradictory? Then I submit that we can find a solution, or what we may call a solution, without any undue presumption, if we analyze the Attribute of Love which is revealed to us as constituting pre-eminently the essential Being of God, so that the Scriptures say, "God is Love;" which attribute, we shall find, if we think it out, is what accounts for the Act of Creation. Think of either of the other two Attributes which are essential to the thought of Him, and they give no unanswerable reason, why we ever were created at all. His Power had been equally Omnipotent, had He never exerted it to create us. His Wisdom had been Infinite Wisdom, had He contemplated us as immanent in the Logos, without ever evolving us into being as anything distinct from Himself. But His Love for us—where had that been, had we never existed as its objects? To speak of it as Love at all, apart from its exercise towards us, were but to contradict one's own words. That love for us could only be realized as an Attribute of God the Creator, by our being summoned into being, to give it that whereunto to go forth. And therefore we may think of our creation as a Self-realization on His part of that which was not up till then. We may think of "The Beginning," when He created things, as meaning nothing less than this—the opportunity for Love to go forth beyond the sphere of the Divine—the veritable realization by God of a Perfection

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not realized from Eternity, which perfection is love for His creatures.

And if the thought be staggering to the mind, if we recoil from positing of Him the development of a new mode of Being, the addition of a new Perfection to that which is His from Eternity, let us again try to look a little farther into the bare essential constituents which make up our conception of Love.

To speak of a Perfection being realized in the Life of the Eternal God sounds at first like asserting imperfection as having characterized the Godhead from eternity: as though He were necessitated to create us, that He might find His Perfection by doing so.

But the ultimate good, the perfection, of the being which we love, is to us, in proportion as we love it, an object so fervidly desired, that to promote it is inevitably and yet freely the supreme desire from within, and the compelling motive from without. In other words, creaturely love contains and harmonizes within itself the thought of both liberty and necessity.

Now, if this idea of love be transferred to the sphere of the Infinite, of the totally and essentially Perfect, we still must read in the conception, however it transcend our best thoughts, that one most intimate characteristic—that it contains within itself the two principles of liberty and of necessity, coalescing into a perfect unity.

When we think of the Divine as loving, still more of God as being Love, a love of which our own best affections are the feeble, creaturely counterpart, we find ourselves absolved altogether from asking if we limit His freedom by speaking of love to the creature, of love to the temporal, the contingent, as a self-realization of the Perfect One, of Him who, from eternity, IS LOVE.

To deny Him eternal love and an eternal object for its exercise were indeed to limit His perfection. This

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granted, there is room, I would maintain, for thinking of love to the finite as constituting, when its object came to be, an exercise of another perfection, not realized, in its fulness at least, when nought subsisted but Himself.

For, indeed, this thought about love seems to take off the staggering contradiction suggested at first to the mind when one speaks of the Eternal God as needing to call us into being that He might find His perfection in loving us. For does not the conception of love, whether thought of in Creator or in creature, carry with it, as essential to itself, as that without which it were not love, an exemption from the flat contradiction which obtains in all other thoughts between necessity and absolute liberty? Do not liberty and necessity coalesce, where love is the subject of our thoughts, into a unity where each is lost sight of? Even love as we know it in ourselves refuses to abide our question, when we ask, is it compelled, or is it free? Its very freedom is its uttermost compulsion; its necessity is its absolute freedom. It moves sweetly and spontaneously to its mark, compelled by the very plenitude of its volition. It would not be other than it is: it could not be other than it wills. Its own essential desire—the possession, the good, of the beloved—is its own sweet, voluntary compulsion. It ever compels itself freely to move in that one direction. Could it cease thus freely to be compelled, it would cease to be love at all.

And all this has a very real bearing on the question at issue with Pantheism. It does not remove the difficulty. This, once more, it is impossible to do: it was determination to remove it at all costs which was fatal to the Hindu religion as answering to spiritual needs. But it does soften down the contradiction; does enable us to accept the position that the Universe is, in a sense, an actual self-realization of the One Eternal Godhead; that although its existence is real, as something distinct from the Divine,

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that although He stands utterly above it, in a word, transcends the finite, yet it is not a mere contradiction, a limitation of God's Infinity, to affirm that there exists a real finite; because we can see that the creature, regarded as the outcome of Love, as created to give Love opportunity, is that in which God, its Creator, fulfils Himself, finds His perfection.

The Tri-Unity, then, of the Godhead, God's being to Himself, from Eternity, both Subject and Object of contemplation both Lover and Beloved in One, and that as an absolute reality; His containing as immanent in His Logos all things that He ever has made; His fulfilment of Himself as love in His actual making them through the spirit:—In these lies the answer of Christianity to the challenge of an arrogant Pantheism, which claims to have syllogized into nothingness belief in Creator and creation.

Whereas, then, the Hindu Pantheist affirms that the existence of the finite is an illusion, a dream, an unreality, is but the self-realization of the absolute; that the Divine is all that exists, and that apart from that realization which we call the creation of the finite, the Infinite Being itself has only a possible existence, is pure nothing, hypostatized as pure being, the Christian can boldly say that, here again, with the positive statement he is totally and heartily in agreement, and that he only joins issue on the negation. That in his eyes the act of creation *is* a self-realization on God's part; that the boundless potentialities of the Infinite do find their realization when His power is actually exerted; that a love not actual before finds, through the exertion of power, an object whereon to be exercised, and that as a fulfilment of Himself which, apart from this, never had been?

As regards, then, one part of the problem on which Hinduism made shipwreck as a religion, and degenerated into bondage to philosophy, the Church anticipated the

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difficulty by her doctrine of the Trinity in Unity. Holding fast to the Eternity of the Word, as a Person distinct from the Father, within the Unity of the One Divine Nature, she provided for an immanence of the creature in God, by Whom it is created, and that from all Eternity. For "through Him were all things made," and "in Him all things subsist," and He is the Wisdom of the Father, by Whom, as the Source of all being, they were created. And she believes that before the worlds were, they were contemplated by God the Father in their immanent existence in His Word. And this at least softens the difficulty, which nothing can actually obviate, of believing in the creaturely and the finite as other than, and distinct from, its infinite Creator. Again, believing that God is Love, that to love is the essence of His Being, she holds fast to a truth about Himself which takes off from the other grand difficulty of conceiving of Creation as beginning, at one moment as existing but potentially, at the next as actually existing as other than the God who created it. For she thinks of this act of creation as a veritable self-realization on the part of the Creator Himself, as an actual giving of effect to a Love which moves freely yet necessarily to forming an object of love.

Yet again, by the doctrine of the Incarnation, the Church anticipates another part of the same problem. As the truth of the Trinity in Unity provides for the immanence of the creature in the Deity who called it from nothingness, so the truth of the Word-made-Flesh anticipates the kindred problem of the immanence of God in creation, when once He has called it into being. For, indeed, the bare idea of Incarnation seems to involve, as a pre-supposition, a previous immanence in nature, as a condition of its creation and its subsistence. It were perhaps not too much to say that, the idea of the Incarnation once grasped, it becomes easy and natural



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to suppose that God was, from the inception of its being, fulfilling Himself, His perfections, in each and every part of it, and that its ultimate union with Himself was the motive of its original creation.

In any case, His immanence in it all is, to me at least, a presupposition involved in the very root-idea of the Word becoming Flesh upon earth, and tabernacling here among us.

For the presuppositions of a belief are not the least important of its conditions. A thought which were simply inconceivable apart from its presuppositions becomes possible, natural, certain when these presuppositions are comprehended. And to me the Incarnation of God were thus totally incredible, inconceivable, if the universe in which it takes place had been, up to the time of His Advent, a thing apart from Himself; in which He was not essentially immanent as the condition of its very existence. But assume that it never existed, could never have existed at all, were He not present within it, did it not live and move in Him; and then, when I am told by St. John that "the Word became Flesh and dwelt among us," I am prepared to believe on the instant that His thus taking manhood into God was the ultimate outcome and consummation of the purpose with which he created it—that "all things are complete in Him," as it was put into words by St. Paul.

I maintain, then, that the truth of the Incarnation, as held by the Church from the first, involves, and is dependent upon a belief — explicit or implicit — in an immanence of God in His creation, and that without this it were simply unthinkable.

To develop the thought a little farther: let us conceive of the Divine Creator as having, ever since the creation, merely contemplated, and sustained from without a universe, the work of His hands, which His own mere

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fiat had created, apart from what I may call with all reverence its being from its very inception a fulfilment of Himself in the finite. Let us divorce our conception of creation from the thought attached to it above—that it constituted a realization of a perfection unrealized without it. Then ask whether the thought of an Incarnation is not seen to be isolated and divorced from everything which makes it appeal to us as congruous with our beliefs about Himself. Think of Infinite and finite, Creator and creature, each wholly apart from the other, with nothing to bring them from the first into a mutual relation, nay a oneness, of immanence each within each. Then conceive, if it be possible to do so, of a gulf so complete, so impassable, being spanned at a certain given moment; so that henceforth there should be personal union between the Divine and the human, between the Deity hitherto wholly transcendent, and the creature hitherto wholly transcended, with nothing to soften the separateness.

How it appears to others, I know not. To myself it is perfectly unthinkable. And that it appears thus unthinkable to others, I gather from the failure, almost total, of many English Christians to attach any definite meaning, or to accord an intelligent belief to the catholic doctrine on the subject. Real belief in the Incarnation of God is almost foreign to the thoughts of most Englishmen, who yet call themselves orthodox Christians: they have never taken in what it means. Hence the total disbelief in the sacraments as actual channels of grace, which obtains so widely among us, without, and even within, the communion of the Church of England. And this failure to believe in the Incarnation, and in its age-long sacramental extension, is due in no small degree to our exalting the transcendence of God at the cost of the exclusion of His immanence from the thought of all but a few.

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But regard the existence of the universe as due to a presence of the Creator, pervading it, immanent in the whole of it; and then His taking it, in the fulness of time, into personal union with Himself becomes instantly far more than credible; becomes natural, nay, absolutely inevitable. If we find in the bare act of creating it a fulfilment of His proper perfection, if we hold that such Self-fulfilment, such scope for the exercise of love is what accounts for His willingness to create it, then what closeness of union with Himself, what mutual interpenetration between Himself and that which He created can be other than a natural consummation of the purpose with which it was made? What intimacy of mystical union between Him and each one of ourselves, what extension of the One Incarnation to include the redeemed individually in participation of the Divinized Humanity, is too great to be accepted and rejoiced in? If God finds a fulfilment of Himself in His creating of the stone, the stock, the brute, then what more congruous, more natural, than that He find a far higher fulfilment in taking me, the rational creature, into the arms of His Incarnate Son, to be a member of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones? Whether the words of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus be actually our Lord's or no, yet they express most accurately, as it would seem, that thought of the immanence of God upon which His Incarnation depends, when they present Him to us as mystically saying:—"Raise the stone, and there you will find Me; cleave the wood, and I am there." For this "Christian Pantheism," as I take it, is the groundwork and essential condition of belief in God being incarnate.

Great clearness will accrue to all this if approached from yet another point of view—by our contrasting the attitude of Englishmen which I have tried to exhibit above, with the easiness of belief in avatars,

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incarnations of various deities, which obtains among Hindus.

That God should be present in everything—should be more than present in everything, should *be* everything that exists or can exist—is to the Hindu a category of thought: it conditions and pervades all his thinking. For to exist is essentially to be divine, from the point of view of a consistent pantheist: Divinity is inseparable from, one might say is synonymous with, the thought of existence as such. A coming of God among men, as man, as this or that man, is, accordingly, but a higher example, a more definitely specialized instance of that which is always taking place when children are born into the world. To say that some man in Gujerat (where these incarnations, or *quasi* incarnations, are believed to be constantly taking place) by being born of a particular family, is constituted an incarnation of Krishna, is not to claim anything for him which differs, except in degree, from what takes place in any other family, in the birth of any other child. To be born a human being is, in a sense, to be born a divine being, if God is all that exists. It is God who looks out upon the world through the eyes of some man in particular, who is treated as Krishna incarnate—so the worshippers certainly believed, whom I have heard singing hymns in his honour in the compound next to my own. But this did not mean to them that here was a unique event in the history of man and of the universe. To them, God looks out through all eyes, human and brute alike, just because they exist, and are eyes. If God did not so look through them, they would not be eyes at all; if God were not immanent in them, they would not be anything at all. An avatar, then, a Hindu Incarnation, depends, in the thought of the believer, on the general immanence of the Divine, of which it is a specialized instance.

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The Incarnation believed in by Christians is totally different from this: it is unique, it could never be repeated. It means that once, in the fulness of time, a Person of the Triune God, Who not only is immanent in all things, but Who infinitely transcends them all, took into His own Divine Being the spiritual and the bodily essentials of a perfect human nature. It means no mere flux in a great flood, sweeping onwards from age to age—God realizing His own perfections by raising one mightier swirl upon the flood of transient potentialities—no illusive display of His power in what appears to the fascinated gazer to be a special embodiment of the Divine, while yet it is but one more vision in that dream of the One and All which is God and man and nature, and everything that is, or seems to be. It represents, and it verily is what we cannot express to ourselves save by words which do but stammer a meaning too deep for thought to take hold of—a Self-emptying on the part of the Almighty, as well as a Self-realization; a new thing emprised by the Eternal, who, changeless in His innermost Being, yet adapted Himself to new conditions; Who then limited Himself in His Humanity, remaining incomprehensible, illimitable, on the side of His eternal Divinity.

Yet if to realize Himself in an avatar must involve, in the thought of the Hindu, a previous immanence of God, as the condition under which it takes place, then, not less—I would say, indeed, far more—must Self-limitation as a creature, Self-emptying on the part of the Word, involve, in the thought of a Christian, an immanence, not a whit the less real for being compatible with Infinite transcendence.

Creation immanent in the Creator, and that essentially and eternally, because he conceived of it from eternity in His Logos, His Personal Wisdom, co-eternal and co-essential with Himself—a real Self-fulfilment of th

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Creator in the act by which He created it, gave it being objectively to Himself; and that without any limitation of His absolute divine freedom; because Love is the motive of Creation, and in Love perfect freedom and necessity are merged in total identity—the Creator immanent in the creation, when once it had been called into being, just because, from its original inception, it does constitute a Self-realization on the part of the creator Himself—creation as a whole, and man in especial, taken up into a union with the Creator, when the Logos, through whom it was created, took Flesh and tabernacled amongst us; so that in Him, in His actual Incarnation, it was united hypostatically, personally, with Him who is its causal medium, as in Him was its eternal conception—the whole redeemed race of mankind become capable of mystical union with God, its Creator and Father, through being sacramentally united to the Manhood of the One Redeemer, Who, being in the form of God, yet emptied Himself, took the form of a servant, was found in the likeness of man—such is the train of thought along which I have invited the reader to follow the idea of Christianity as expressed by St. John and St. Paul, and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

I have treated it to very little purpose if this be not clear by now—that the Gospel anticipated Pantheism, raised the thoughts of those who should accept it to a plane where the Pantheistic dilemma has no existence for them. This truth of the mutual immanence obtaining between God and His creatures is what tempers the idea of His transcendence, what disarms the logical dilemma which has betrayed Hindus into Pantheism.

And no less does it supply to our minds a protection against the tendency to Materialism which lurks, as I have tried to bring out, round the thought of a transcendent Creator, Whose existence is separated too

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sharply from our conceptions about that which He has made. Let the order and uniformity of nature be thought of as the daily Self-expression of One Whose every act is the outcome—we may say in a sense, the necessary, the inevitable outcome—of something in His own proper Being, and we never need fear losing sight of Him behind laws guiding natural processes along a way of invariable sequence; a sequence which, apart from Him, we should also regard as unconditional.

Professor Hort, in his Hulsean lectures on "The Way, the Truth, and the Life," has treated the thought of the WAY as including within its manifold significance the truth that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Eternal, Uncreated Wisdom, through whom all things were made, is the Way along which God works in nature as well as in grace. Coming forth from Himself, the Eternal, as from Eternity He willed to come forth, to call finite worlds into being, He has stamped the image of Himself, of His free, yet inevitable perfection, upon all that He is pleased to effect. In His Word he guides, by His own divine working, whatever takes place, or can take place, in this lower world of matter, to which, on one side of our nature, we human beings belong. "All's love, yet all's law" in His universe, because law, because invariable sequence is that which, in His own divine perfectness, He stamps upon all that He has made. What we call *law* is the highest expression of the Love which called it from nothingness into being; or from its immanent existence in Himself into objective reality of being. Gravitation, all force, all matter, the all in all of physical existence, from the Milky Way to the ultimate electrons, is the outcome, the inevitable self-expression of the Love which called it into being, that in it He might express, might fulfil Himself. Its very invariability of procedure, in the light of the thoughts given above, so far from eliminating the Divine, is what

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brings Him most perfectly to our knowledge. But apart, once more, from this thought of Himself as immanent in it all, of Himself as realized in it all, this ordered, invariable sequence but conceals Him altogether from our minds; until we are tempted to hold that His intervention, His presence, as beginning it, or as upholding it, is unnecessary, superfluous, nay, unthinkable.

Here, perhaps, we come to the point where it is needful to deal with a difficulty entailed by this conception of immanence. Where a material order is in question, which proceeds under invariable laws; where the *fiat* of God is carried out without any jarring or inconsistency; where nothing asserts itself against Him by spiritual or moral rebellion—here, I say, it is comparatively easy to think of the working of the Universe as fulfilling the perfections of God.

It were easier still to recognize it in the working of a moral world where His Will was in all things carried out. But how, it may well be asked, is this belief about the immanence of God to be reconciled with sin as a fact? If the universe was called into being that He might fulfil, through its existence, some divine necessity of His Being, then how is it that a part of His creation is found in opposition to Himself?

Is not even a denial of sin, a reduction of all that takes place to the non-moral, inevitable action of one all-embracing Will, an easier and more obvious explanation than one whose assertion of freedom on the part of created beings, makes the Deity realize Himself in a world where sin obtains?

The first reply, as I conceive, must be that we are dealing with facts; that the world which we have to explain is that which we have actually before us. And that in this actual world, moral evil, as distinguished from imperfection, and sin, as distinguished from inexpediency,

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are facts, and have got to be dealt with. Remorse is at any rate a fact, the grimmest fact in the world. And, again, it is a fact that in the consciousness of mankind there exists a sharp distinction between moral and physical evil. We have, I maintain, a real faculty, presupposing a real distinction, by which we discern from one another moral right and moral wrong. And the distinction, I equally maintain, is as real as the faculty which discerns it. The details are matter of experience, requiring to be learnt by individuals, and varying to an indefinite degree in various ages and communities. But this very fact of variation, of indefinite divergence about details, does but throw into higher relief the universal distinction, as such, between moral right and wrong; does but indicate all the more clearly the existence of a faculty in man for discerning between the two, when presented before him as such; which faculty is innate and universal, like the faculty for distinguishing colours, or for responding to nervous stimuli.

Even under the domination of Hinduism, which denies the fact of sin, of rebellion against a personal God, by denying the ultimate distinction between ourselves and God—so that in fact there is no God to disobey—the fact of remorse remains, inevitable, ineradicable, compelling. I have seen it appealed to many times in sermons addressed to Hindus, and never without a response. The representative of philosophical Hinduism at the Chicago "Parliament of Religions" might denounce belief in sin as blasphemy against the dignity of man; who himself, he asserted, is God. The mind of his Hindu countrymen retains the sense of it none the less.

But if sin and remorse be facts, and if the world which we have to explain be a world which contains such facts, then all that we have to inquire is whether the immanence of God, in the form in which I have displayed

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it, requires any other account of the being and origin of evil than that upon which we fall back when we try, on any other supposition, to account for antagonism to God in a world of His own creating.

No other reply seems possible, than that which is ordinarily attempted—and what beyond attempts can we make?—when the origin of evil is in question. Nor, indeed, does any other seem needful. It is the existence of evil at all in a universe ruled by Goodness, and by Goodness untrammelled by helplessness, which constitutes the essence of the problem. Nor is any new element imported by belief in the immanence of God. If it makes any difference at all in accounting for the presence of evil, whether we think of the universe as fulfilling Him, or regard it as merely obeying Him, it is a difference of degree, not of kind.

It is of the essence of Christian thought that the end for which man exists is the intelligent service of God in a life of moral freedom, of response to the love of the Creator, by creatures who freely make choice of Him as the end and aim of their being. This Christian theory of life involves, of absolute necessity, the possibility of refusal on their part to respond to the love of the Creator. In other words, the possibility of love entails the possibility of sin, the highest development of good carries with it the possibility of failure. Beyond this it is futile to inquire, short of this it is impossible to stop, in the quest after absolute truth. As far as we can see, in the world in which we actually live, this alternative presents itself inevitably—either no possibility of freedom, no highest height of goodness, or else no certainty of attainment; but, on the contrary, the terrible risk that the highest being missed or not aimed at, the lowest may actually ensue. It may be hard to recognize in this alternative, Self-fulfilment on the part of the Divine. And yet we are

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shut up to maintaining that no other mode of Self-fulfilment were as worthy of all that He is, as the rational choice of Himself by beings so made, and so placed, that to decline upon lower alternatives, to miss Him, or even to refuse Him, is before them as a veritable possibility.

And again, if it be love upon God's part which seeks Self-fulfilment in creation, then nothing short of love on the part of the beings that He has made could constitute, in its highest developments, an actual realization of His object. And to us—whatever may be the case in any other sphere of existence — to us the reality of love carries with it the possibilities of hate; to us the very thought of freedom carries with it liability to mischoice. Nor can we conceive of this possibility apart from its actualization. A possibility which never occurred, a liability to which no one had succumbed, would not be, in our ordinary speech, a veritable liability at all. One might say, then, without over statement, that as far as our faculties can discern—of course, we dare not go farther than this—God's fulfilment of Himself through a creation which includes a rational element carries with it the possibility of failure; and, yet more, that a liability such as this, if it is to mean anything at all, carries with it a practical certainty that what may be actually will be, in certain cases at any rate. A fulfilment of his own potentialities which did not include within its scope an interchange of recognition and of love would fall short of the highest possibilities which even we can look for and understand. And of this the facts of sin would appear to be an unavoidable concomitant.

And all this holds good, as it would seem, with even more telling force, of a universe in which He is present not only with a general immanence (in that it, by existing at all, includes His presence within it as the factor of factors in its being) but with an actual indwelling of it

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by Him as personally incarnate in the midst of it. For if He so indwells His creation as that it, in union with Himself, shall offer itself to Him; that His will be that which informs it, His love become operative within it; that the love of man to God be, in the Person of His Incarnate Son, a return of His love upon itself; then here, more than anywhere else, must a veritable freedom obtain in the highest sense of the word. Here that consideration will come in with the fullest possible force, which I urged in analyzing love, whether found in the Deity or in ourselves—that freedom and necessity coalesce in a unity which reduces them to identity. Here the force of a free compulsion will urge the heart of love to an absolute surrender of itself to the will of the One loved Object. Yet what were the meaning of this surrender, what the force of this loving compulsion, apart from a possibility of its opposite? while only the force of love, the free exercise of choice between alternatives, prevents that possibility from being realized, from being actual reality? That another alternative had been possible, unless love were what it actually is—without this no freedom of choice, no path along which to choose, had existed or been possible at all.

And in the sacramental extension which the Personal Incarnation carries with it, in the taking of redeemed humanity into mystical union with the Incarnate, the same again holds good. It is in that from which His presence delivers us, in wrong choice being a veritable alternative, that the field for the display of love is open to every soul which unites itself mystically to Christ. It is in flying to Him, the Redeemer, to escape from ourselves as lost; in accepting holiness from Him, to be attained by struggle and endurance; in working His Divine Holiness into the fibre of a being like our own, with its terrible possibilities of evil, that we find the most perfect expression

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of the love which unites us to Him. No possible sin, no actual holiness—so must the alternative stand for all to whom union with the Incarnate is the opportunity of realizing perfectly the capacities of humanity in God.

The position of a Christian thinker, as distinguished from a Pantheist or a Materialist, might be expressed, then, in the following terms.

To the Pantheist everything is divinized until virtually nothing is divine; the Deity depending upon all things, just as all things depend upon Him, for existence in any true sense. To the Materialist nothing is divine; because beyond the phenomenal, the contingent, there is no existence at all, but all things are as they are, just because they are none other than they are. To the Christian believer in the Trinity, who knows that the Word became Flesh, all that is must be instinct with the Divine; because all that is at all is the outcome of Divine Perfection, coming forth by the Way, which is Divine, to fulfil Himself, to realize His perfections, in an ordered sequence of nature, which is exactly as it is, because He, in His Eternal Wisdom, for ever conceived of it as perfect, and because He, in His eternal love, created it perfect for Himself.

But, indeed, we ought not to stop short with saying this; we ought to add that He created it for Himself, that He might not only find expression of Himself in its ordered natural sequence as in creaturely relation to Himself, but as the field for taking to Himself a new development of perfection: that its ultimate possibilities were only realized when He made a new thing upon the earth, a mode of Divine subsistence, in which a Person, Eternal and Divine, submitted to human conditions, acquired by degrees, ike other children, a human and creaturely knowledge of the world which Himself

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had created, and learnt obedience, as Man, to the Law which, as God, He had promulgated.

Let our conceptions of the dignity of nature be cast in any lower mould, rule it out from including in its scope the manifestation of God Himself in a creaturely form upon earth, and we shall end by eliminating Him completely from any relation with the world, as Sustainer or even Creator. For a hunger of the Divine for Self-expression in matter as simply existing, and in matter in union with Himself, is what alone will, in the ultimate analysis, offer a basis for any solution of the riddle of Infinite and finite, of Divine and creaturely existence, as thinkable in relation to each other, or as compatible each with each.

To sum up this division of our subject, we believe in an eternal tendency to create—eternal love for the creatures of a day; in a Divine contemplation of the world, to be called from immanence into actuality—in Wisdom Eternal, "incomprehensible," exerted upon the temporal and the extended; in a word, in the Trinity in Unity, perfect Power, perfect Wisdom, perfect Love, coming forth to create for Himself an object for the exercise of love; in a new departure of Divinity, united hypostatically to humanity—the Incarnate Word of God. In all this we have antinomies reconciled; in this we have dilemmas anticipated, in this we have a sacred philosophy which satisfies in mystical fashion the cravings of thought about all things; in this we have full satisfaction for the spiritual needs of humanity; in this we have an answer to our ultimate inquiries, an answer not suicidal, not liable to be disastrously countered, though the legitimate demands of our reason refuse to accept any faith which will in no sort abide their question.

Now, these Truths of the Trinity and the Incarnation either assume as presuppositions, or carry with them as

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necessary consequences, belief in the immanence of God as tempering that in His transcendence. And this, I suppose, is the reason, why English religious thought has been disposed to lose sight of them altogether. Transcendence is a simple idea, has nothing of the mystical about it; while immanence demands for its acceptance a higher degree of imagination, an acuter sense of the mysterious as not being necessarily the obscure, still less the shadowy, the unreal. Two factors in contrast with one another, and merely related to one another, it is easy to conceive of at once. The fact of their contradictoriness to one another it is also easy to discern, when thought has proceeded a little farther in discussing them as originally presented. And so the truths of Creator and creation, the categories of Infinite and finite, are readily accepted, to begin with, by unimaginative temperaments such as ours, when propounded as fundamentals of religion, and that with no prevision of a mode of reconciling them with each other as actually co-existing side by side. And the after reaction is as easy, when the thought of Divine transcendence encounters the logical difficulties which beset it, if strictly examined, apart from the thought of His immanence.

From this unscientific beginning and this so disastrous ending, there is nothing, I believe, which can preserve us, but the belief in the immanence of God presupposed in these doctrines of the Faith. But the dependence of each upon each—of the doctrines on the philosophical position, and of the Christian philosophy upon the doctrines, if once they be stated and faced—is complete and cannot be dispensed with. An intelligent grasp of the Faith may be entirely independent of the philosophy—may be held, thank God, by the believer, without his so much as having heard that there exists

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such a thing as philosophy. But a misleading philosophy accepted is fatal to holding the Faith. And premises leading up to, or depending on a false philosophical position will in the end be equally fatal, if people think on the subject at all.



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## CHAPTER V

### The Service to be Rendered to Christian Thought by the Belief in the Mutual Immanence of Creator and Creature

(1) Generally, it ought to render impossible the Materialism which supervenes where the created universe is thought of as lying wholly separate and distinct from its Creator.

(2) In especial (*a*) It helps to suggest looking for God not only in the miraculous and the unusual, but in the expression of His Perfection afforded by the uniformity of ordinary sequences in nature. (*b*) The manifest imperfections of nature, as it is gradually evolved towards perfection, so far from militating against the idea of a Divine Self-fulfilment, suggest the thought of Divine Love allowing to its objects a certain share in the working out of their own development.

(3) Conclusion. The mystical character of all the foregoing is consonant with all that is set before us in the New Testament on the same subject. Only by such mystical belief, consciously or unconsciously held, can faith in Divine transcendence be prevented from so isolating the creation from the Creator as that, in the ultimate resort, He shall be eliminated altogether from our conceptions of it.

And now, to follow out these ideas along one or two lines of suggestion, not, I hope, altogether unfruitful.

This idea of the presence of God, of His active, positive working in each, the most imperfect, stage of gradual, age-long development, ought to serve as an antidote, I believe, to one bane which has worked out into Materialism—I mean the tendency, so common among Christians, to think of the presence of the Creator,

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and of the manifestations of His working, as divorced from the usual, from the expected, and as associated only with the miraculous. In a different application, it is true, from that in which Browning said it—

> "God's aglow to the loving eye
> In what was mere earth before."

If His traces, if His actual working be everywhere—in the crystal as in the man, in the plant as in the beast, in the worm as in the archangel—then the thought and the fact of the miraculous may come in, do actually come in, to recall the mind now and then, by some special expression of His care, to that which might otherwise be forgotten. But it will surely be less in the unusual, in the occasional, special intervention, than in the ordinary everyday processes that we shall look for and surely find Him. Nor will it be simply by prayer that we shall remember that—

> "The whole round earth is every way
> Bound with gold chains about the feet of God."

But always, in the ordinary working of the processes everywhere toward, we shall feel the stirring of His hand, as He disposes the whole along its course. The theory of a "pre-established harmony" of the concomitance of natural processes with a Divine operation accompanying them, was like one of the mediæval warriors borne down by the weight of their own harness. That of all things as working themselves out because He works in them at all times, because each is an actual stirring of a love "whose centre is everywhere, and its circumference nowhere," seems to me to move freely on its way, carried along by its own spontaneity.

The most perfect analogy for it all seems to lie in our own constitution, in the working of the spirit within us

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through the medium of the body informed by it—the spirit, as Bishop Westcott put it, being rather "the formula of the body" than anything to be sharply defined as distinct and separable from it. The Holy Ghost is to us the informing Spirit, giving life, capability, movement, to every material process. The Logos, as it is phrased by Dr. Inge, is "in relation to the world, the Power that made it and sustains it in being, the Intelligence that guides it, and the Will that directs its life to a purposed end": Yet "neither God the Father nor the Logos, so bound up in the laws of the universe as that it could be said that His life grows and accomplishes itself in the life of the world"—a belief which "is not pantheistic, but which does value Panentheism."[1] It seems to me that this mystical outlook, this seeing of everything in God, characteristic—of course with exaggerations—of Pantheistic Hindu thought, may well be adopted by Christians as a protection against two contrary tendencies, one of which results in Materialism, the other in Pantheism. Attained, it is corrective of Pantheism. And the "Panentheism" which it values and embodies appears to me to be a helpful thought to be suggested to the minds of believers by brooding on the extravagant errors, the weird and fantastic distortions which beset religious thought where Pantheism rules unrestrained.

And to embark on another line of thought, suggested by what goes before. I have argued that the fact of sin presents no insuperable difficulty to belief that the world which contains it is one in which God is immanent, which,

[1] Professor Inge, *Personal Idealism and Mysticism*, pp. 51 and 71. Compare Professor Dubose: *The Gospel in the Gospels*, pp. 250, 251. "The Logos is the ideal or formal principle of things. It is that which expresses itself in them." "The universe is the expression, not of God, yet of God; not of God, because not of God's substance or self, and yet of God, because of God's Logos or His thought, will, and activity."

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indeed, is impregnated with His Presence. A somewhat analogous thought might predispose us to look in nature for traces of creative Love working out a beneficent purpose against what we may call thwarting influences. And this thought might have a scope and a helpfulness in relation to other difficulties of a kind very rife in our midst.

One of the standing difficulties of belief among men of scientific prepossessions has ever been the thought of a Creator effecting His material purposes so incompletely as they seem to be wrought out in the actual universe before us. Why spend such infinite ages of development, material or moral, instead of creating things at once as perfect as ever they could be? Why the waste, the carnage, the suffering, the aberrations, material and spiritual, which accompany all the development? Why not a development more perfect after all the suffering that it costs?

Now if we think of a purpose of love as finding its scope and fulfilment in the processes which all these accompany, still more, if we think of that purpose as it displays itself in our own moral life, we might be led on, as I think, to a conclusion something like the following—that respect for the capacities of its object, that a taking of the loved one by the hand, and inducing him to develop for himself the capabilities dormant within, is of the essence of all its procedure; that to work out one's own salvation both in physical and in moral life is the only highest course for the highest beings that we know, our human brethren and sisters; that to tamper with people's individuality, to force them along a course of one's own, denying them scope and opportunity for developing on just their own lines, is the worst disservice we can render them; that a lower degree of perfection, attained along their own proper path, is preferable to a higher degree, attained on any

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other lines; and that accordingly, such a development is most worthy to be ordered by love.

And if we think of creating and creation as affording opportunity to love, as, indeed, but the temporal working out of a love which itself is eternal, may we not, by a parity of reasoning, regard each step in evolution as evincing what we may call, with all reverence, a respect on the part of the Creator for that which Himself has created—a taking it, as it were, into His counsels, allowing it a hand in its own growth; taking it tenderly from stage to stage along a process in which every part of it, according to the latent capacities which Himself had given it from the first, should work out its own salvation along its own imperfect lines. There is a beauty, a nobility, a satisfactoriness in the thought of His dealing with it thus, which, to me, were wholly wanting in a creation which showed no struggle, which conveyed no idea to our minds of a Creator making the most, at each stage, of inadequate or perverse materials. It is staggering, no doubt, at first sight, to learn how each one of ourselves, before we looked our first on this world, has passed through every stage which animal life on our planet has known from its earliest inception. It is staggering to think of each species as having won its present perfection by an age-long process of struggle, in which the weakest have gone to the wall. It was staggering, when first it was propounded, to think of a continuity of development, through which every stage of being can be traced through infinitesimal gradations to a connection, apparently unquestionable, with the stage immediately below it. It is staggering perhaps more than all, to know that the one last gap between inorganic and organic nature, between the inanimate and the living, may yet be spanned by discoverers: that we dare not adopt the stand which we remember as familiar to apologists, on the failure of every experiment which attempted to develop

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life where no life had existed to produce it; while, on the other hand, it seems to be proved that reactions obtain in the inanimate which bear the closest possible resemblance to the phenomena of animate being.

Yet what light is thrown on all this, how it is robbed of its terrifying aspect, if we think of Creative Love as stooping to co-operate, as it were, with the rudimentary, stumbling attempts which nature, at every stage, is putting forth to develop her capabilities. Let us think of God the Holy Ghost as pervading the whole of the universe, as the Scriptures so constantly represent Him. Let us apply to the thought of His operation in all things animate and inanimate, what we know of His dealings with ourselves in the painful struggles and processes which work out our spiritual salvation. Then ask whether there is anything unworthy in believing that diversities of operations may have much that is parallel with one another; that He Who, in the spiritual world, so patiently bears with, and helps us, Who respects our personal freedom, and leaves us to love or to reject Him, may be dealing in analogous ways with the world of material things—pervading each process of nature with a like persistency and patience, yet enduing all creatures alike with a power to work out for themselves the exact minute stage of development up to which they have struggled so far.

With these few detailed suggestions, mere specimens of many that might be offered, this article must draw to its close.

To them all there might, doubtless, be adduced the answer which rises too readily to the lips of many among us, and those not scoffing or irreligious, that it is mystical, imaginative, obscure; that it ignores the everyday attitude of even thoughtful Christian people; that it moves from first to last in a world with which they are not familiar. And this may be far too true,

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may offer very serious obstacles to its commending itself readily or widely.

But I would ask right-minded Christians who are ready to deal with it thus, whether the position of total unbelief, whether Materialism, nakedly stated, is any more familiar or acceptable than that which I have tried to set before them? This position of blank negation is the last which they would wish to adopt. And if they feel, as surely they do, that the solution, if solution there be, of the enigmas which always beset us is to be found in St. Paul and St. John, then I plead that my statement of this may be patiently considered and weighed. No one reads the Scriptures attentively, or weighs their statements with reverence, and comes away from such perusal with a sense that the statements which they make are easy to translate for ourselves into a twentieth-century equivalent; that the ideas which flow from St. John with such limpid simplicity of diction are other than profound, nay, unfathomable; that the rapturous utterances of St. Paul, who, "if he had known Christ after the flesh, would henceforth thus know Him no more," are patient of any interpretation which is other than deeply mystical. If we wish to retain our faith in the light of modern knowledge, and in the obscurity of age-long dilemmas, there must be a mystical element in the thoughts that we think on the subject, and in the words by which they are expressed. We must ever be consenting, in fact, to put up with statements of truth which entail weighing, one against the other, apparently contradictory suggestions, adumbrations of facts beyond verification, and truths too deep, too divine, for full and unimpeachable perspicuity. But on the principle that every error in our thoughts about God Himself, and about our relations with Him is a nemesis for truth obscured, or a reaction from facts over-stated, I believe that a mystical belief about the

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immanence of God in creation is our safeguard against tendencies to Materialism.

To quote again from a work by Dr. Inge, which, without accepting it in its entirety, I regard as profoundly suggestive: "The Logos is the creating and sustaining principle in the universe: He comprehends it, though He is not comprehended by it. All the life in the world is His life; the fulfilment of His will is the far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves."[1]

An impulse in the direction thus indicated, a quickening of our perceptiveness of the truth which these deep expressions enunciate is, I believe, the one great service which Hinduism may render to Christendom. GOD EVERYWHERE, not distinguished from all things; God merely as the totality of all things—there is the error, the distortion, on the side of Hindu Pantheism. GOD NOWHERE—the totality of all things taking the place of the thought of God—there, again, is the error, the distortion, on the side of Buddhistic Materialism. GOD EVERYWHERE, in all things, all living and moving and having their being in Him, all sustained, as at first they were created, by the action of His eternal Word—there, once more, is the truth of the gospel, as enunciated by St. Paul and St. John.

And now, to sum up in a few sentences the chief underlying ideas which I have tried to convey to my readers. The feel of God in all things, the sense sympathetic to his touch, as it thrills through the universe around us, the consciousness that all that exists is impregnated with Him and with His influence, that "He is not far from each one of us," "that in Him we live and move and have our being"—these animating characteristics which pervade the mind of India, which constitute its spiritual atmosphere, which are categories

[1] *Personal Idealism and Mysticism*, p. 51.

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in all its speculations—it is by these, as a gift from on high, that Christianity may look to be helped. We may be warmed, enlightened, enriched; may be protected against weaknesses which are our own, and may be led to a many-sided breadth which is far from being native to ourselves, by contact with Indian Christians inheriting a sense of the supernatural from their ancestors bred up in Pantheism. Extravagancies must first be chastened down, inherited excrescences scaled off; distortions must be straightened and corrected by many generations of Christianity. Then these dim anticipations of helpfulness may stand out as facts accomplished.

Meanwhile let us guard, on our parts, against looking with insular superciliousness on even so grotesque a religion as that which I have tried to describe. It has parted with much that is essential, has compromised with much that is evil, has been smirched by much that is degrading. All which has been the natural nemesis of its parting with its spiritual birthright for the sake of intellectual completeness; of its bowing before a ruthless metaphysic, caring only for logical completeness as a system of speculative philosophy. But contempt for aught that is human is foreign to the perfect religion of Him who is Man, THE MAN, the universal Archetype of humanity. For though the darkness, now, as of old, has failed to comprehend the light, He is now, as He was to St. John, "the true Light, which lighteneth every man that cometh into the world." And just because this is the case with Christians as it is with none else—because "all things are ours" in Him—we can turn to each foreign religion, to find in our study of each the fulfilment of the promise of Jehovah:—"I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and the hidden riches of secret places."

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# INDEX


Abstract speculation, Chinese distaste for, 267–269
Adoption in Japan, 144
Africa, West, 122
Africa, Christianity in, xxxix
Andrews, Rev. C. F., 292
Anglican Communion, Chinese, 270, 271, 278–275
—— ——, the, xxxix
Anglican Missions, 3, 7

Beacon of Truth, 304
Beginning of the present *régime* in Japan, 170
Bible translation in Japan, 219
Body of Christ, incompleteness of, xi
British race, Church of, xxi
Brotherhood of St. Andrew, 109
——, Christian Chinese, 270, 271, 278–275

Caldwell, Bishop, 313
Cambridge Mission papers, 292
Cannibalism, 20
Caste, East Indian, 106
Catechism, 120
Catholic Church, standpoint of the, xxv
Centenary Conference, 1907 (China), 257, 259, 262
Characteristics of negro religion, 94
Characteristics of English religion, xiii–xx, xxiii
——, Papuan, 22, 40–69
China, Christianity in, xlii
Christendom, divisions of, 116
Christian hostels in Japan, 175
Christianity, definition of, 310
Church discipline, Chinese, 266, 267
Church, Dean, xxxv, xxxvi, xlviii
Clans, Chinese, 270, 275, 276
Climate, Japanese, 157
Comparative progress of Missions in China, 254, 255
Confucius, teaching of, 267, 276
Confucianism in Japan, 175
Consultative Council, Anglican, xxviii
Creighton, Bishop, xxix
Constitution of the Nippon Sei Kōkwai, 211
Contributions, increase in Chinese Church, 261

Development, slow African, 124
Dilemma of Pantheism, 339, 358–364
Diligence in spreading the Gospel (China), 258, 265, 266
Discipline, African Church, 111
Divinity training schools, 223
Doshisha, the, 199


Digitized by Google

Dreams, xliii
Duality of character, British, xiii, xxi
Du Bose, Dr., 388
Dufferin, Lord, xxxiii

Elizabeth, Queen, xxix
Emotional religion, 98
Episcopal roll, Japanese, 209
Essentials of religion, the, 318

Family council, the Japanese, 146
Federation, Chinese, 255–257
Feudal system, the Japanese, 164
Filial piety, Chinese, 274, 275
Finite and infinite, the, 338
Five relations of man, the Japanese, 177
Foreign peril to Japan, 166
Foreign relations of Japan before the 17th century, 162
Fowl stealing, 118
Franciscans in China, 247

General Synod, the Japanese, 212
Geographical position of Japan, 155
God, belief in a Personal, 94
"God-shelf," the Japanese, 175

Hideyoshi, 162, 168
Hinduism, definition of, 310
—— Theistic, 322
—— Pantheistic, 324–335
Hope of unity, Japanese, 235

Ian Hamilton, Sir, xlviii
Iemitsu Tokugawa, 169
Ieyasu Tokugawa, 168
Immanence, Christian doctrine of, 319, 340, 382–385
——, Hindu doctrine of, 332, 344, 348, 372
Immigration, Chinese, 242–247
Immortality, personal, 36, 291
Incantations, 27
Incarnation, Christian doctrine of the, 346, 355, 370–381
India, Christianity in, xl
Independence, movement towards Chinese, 259
Independent native Churches in China, 258–261
Indigenous literature in Japan, 176
Inge, Professor, xi, 326, 388, 393
Intellectual power of Chinese, 243, 244
Invasion of Western lands by China, 241, 242, 244
Islam, its central truth, 283
——, its strength, 288–289, 298
——, its weakness, 290–294
——, its attributes of God, 294–296
Isolation, effect of, on national character, 158

Jamaica, population of, 81, 93
Japanese Buddhism, 179
—— race, 189
Japan's contribution to Christian character, 229
Japan, influence of China on, 240
Jesuits in China, 248, 249
—— and Franciscans in Japan, 166

Kuroda's tracts on Buddhism in Japan, 172

Languages and dialects, 75
Laud, Archbishop, xxix
Law, respect for, 110
Lawes, Dr. W. A., 4, 19

Digitized by Google

Lightfoot (Bishop), on comparative progress, 254, 255, 257
Lincoln, Abraham, 86
Logical completeness, Hindu, 318, 326
London Missionary Society, 3–5
Love, Christian doctrine of, 349–358
Loyalty to institutions in Japan, 148

MacGregor, Sir William, 5, 25, 30, 43
Mahan, Admiral, xxxiv
Marsden, Samuel, 3
Martyrdom of Christians in China, 249, 263, 264
Materialism, 312, 317, 386, 392
Mental and moral characteristics of Japanese, 141
Missionary comity in Japan, 203
—— methods in Japan, 217
Mission of the Orthodox Church in Japan, 195
Morals and civilization in China, 245, 246,
Mozley, Professor, 292
Music, 101
Mystical position of Christianity, 344, 360–368, 388–391

Native evangelists, 5, 62–66
Negro Christians in U.S., 90
—— —— in W.I., 91
—— morality, 119,
—— population, 80
Nestorians in China, 247
New Guinea, Missions in, 7
Newman, Dr., 312, 318, 345
New Testament conscience, 121
—— Zealand, 3
Nippon Sei Kōkwai, the, 211
Nobunaga, 168

Non-Episcopal Missions in Japan, 197

Open door, the, 242
"Order" or subordination to authority in China, 270, 275–277

Pacific Ocean, 3, 68
Pantheism, fascination of, 333
——, immoral consequences of, 327
——, Hindu doctrine of, 311 315, 318–321, 327, 335, 339–347, 382
Papuan characteristics, 22, 40–69
—— contribution to the Faith, 57–66
—— religion, 22
—— village community, 7–21
—— virtues, 40–50
—— warfare, 16
—— weaknesses, 37–40
Persecution of the Christians in Japan, 169, 188, 191
Persistence of hidden Christianity in Japan, 190
Persistent toughness in Japanese character, 187, 190
Personal appearance, Japanese, 140
Portuguese and Spaniards in Japan, arrival of, 165
Position of women in Japan, 142
Political influence of Roman Church in China, 250, 251
Practical nature of Chinese Christianity, 266, 267, 273, 274
—— Chinese thought, 267–269, 272–274
Presbyterian Missions in China, 256
Protestant Missions, establishment of, 252

Digitized by Google

Protestant Missions, statistics of, 253, 254, 256.
Protestantism, xxvii

Races of mankind, 73
Religion, Papuan, 22, 34–37
Retaliation, 32, 42
Retribution, sense of, 55
"Rice Christians" and shams, 262, 264
Ritual, temper of English, xxvii
Roman Catholic Church, 121
—— —— Missions, 4, 7
—— Missions in China, 247–251
Royal instructions, 51

Sacrifice, propitiatory, 25, 32–34
Salmon, Dr., xv
Scenery and cultivation in Japan, 155
Seclusion of the emperors in Japan, 168
Sectarian divisions in China, 255, 256, 258
Self-government, Chinese aptitude for, 275, 276
Separated brethren, the, xxiii–xxv
Shinto, 178
Slav, the mystery of the, xliii
Slavery, abolition of, 85
Slaves, importation of, 82
Social element in religion, 104
South America, mystery of, xliii
Sorcery, 26–29
Spirit world, 23, 27–31, 61
Steadfastness of Chinese under persecution, 262–264
Superstitions, 30
"Sweet first-fruits," 304

Tahiti, 3, 6
Temple, Archbishop, xxxi
Three great Shoguns, the, 167
Torii, 184
Totemism, 11
Treaty ports, opening of, 249
Transcendence, Christian doctrines of, 319, 337, 340
——, Hindu view of, 320, 332
——, Mohammedan view of, 341
——, Deistic view of, 341
Trench, Hulsean lectures, 304
Tri-Unity, Christian doctrine of, 348

Unity in variety in China, 269, 270

Village community, Papuan, 7–21
Virtues and vices, different order of, xvii
——, Papuan, 40–50

Want of value for the individual, Japanese, 151, 184
Warfare, Papuan, 16
Weaknesses, Papuan, 37–40
Wen Hsiang, 239
Wesleyan Missions in New Guinea, 4, 7
Williams, John, 4
Women, future work of, xxxviii

Xavier, St. Francis, 192

Yellow peril, the, 239, 240
—— question, the, 239–247
Yoritomo, 164

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